A FULL ANSWER TO THE LETTER FROM A *BY-STANDER*, &c.

WHEREIN

His falſe Calculations, and Miſrepreſentations of Facts in the Time of King CHARLES II. are refuted;

AND

An Hiſtorical Account is given of all the PARLIAMENTARY AIDS in that Reign, from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons; the Ancient and Modern Power of the Crown, and the exceſſive Height to which it is riſen of late, are clearly repreſented;

AND

Reaſons offered for reſtoring to the FREEHOLDERS of *ENGLAND* their Ancient Right of chuſing High Sheriffs and Juſtices of Peace in the County Courts, as a proper Means towards reſtoring the Ballance of our Conſtitution, and putting a Stop to the Progreſs of Corruption.

By *R*—— *H*——, Eſq;

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MVSEVM
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A FULL
ANSWER
TO THE
LETTER *from a* BY-STANDER *to a Member of PARLIAMENT*, &c.

THE Author of *a Letter from a By-Stander to a Member of Parliament*, ſeems to inſinuate by the Title, that he is an impartial Writer; though the whole Tenor of his Performance, evidently refutes all his Pretenſions to that Character. He ſets out with profeſſing a Regard to his Country, and a Deſire of correcting ſome miſtaken Notions in the People of *Britain*, which are the Motives of his Writing; Profeſſions which coſt very little to Writers who have no Regard to Truth, and which are ever made by thoſe who find it neceſſary to deceive a Nation, before they can effect it's Ruin. No Conſtitution was ever yet ſubverted under any other than fair Pretences; but *Impoſtors are known by their Fruits*, and the Vanity of their Pretences is diſcovered by the Methods they take to ſupport them, and by the Nature of the Meaſures they recommend. Writers in a good Cauſe never have Recourſe to Artifices, which none

but the worſt can need, and ſcorn to abuſe the Reader with ſuch Miſrepreſentations of Facts, as run throughout the *Letter of the By-Stander*; whoſe corrupt Views, as well in repreſenting a Standing-Army to be neceſſary, and Public Credit to be precarious, as in endeavouring to revive a Diſtinction of Parties, have been already expoſed by the Author of *A proper Anſwer to the By-Stander*, ſo that I have little Occaſion to add any Thing on thoſe Subjects.

That no Nation hath ever been enſlaved by any other Means than the Force of a Standing-Army, is a Truth ſo evident from the Experience of all Ages, and the Teſtimony of all Hiſtorians, that a free People, learning from others Ruin what muſt naturally prove their own, ought ever to guard againſt it, as the greateſt of Evils, and what threatens the moſt immediate Danger to their Liberties. *The By-Stander* * however, out of the tender Concern he pretends for his Country, is not aſhamed of recommending to it the Examples of other Nations thus enſlaved, and would fain have a Standing-Army kept up in *England*, as long as any *European* Monarch ſhall keep up that Badge and Means of Slavery in his own Dominions; which probably may be for ever. He pleads for the Neceſſity of one in this Country; where by its Situation as an Iſland, it is undeniably leſs wanted, in all Circumſtances whatever, than in any other; and by the Superiority of its Force, and the natural Bravery of its People, the Nation is ſufficiently ſecured from any Danger of being attacked by the Land Armies of Foreign Potentates. The Kings of *France* therefore and *Pruſſia* may keep up mighty Armies, and load their Subjects with Taxes to ſupport them; but this, though they do it not merely for Pomp or Shew; but even to invade their Neighbours as Opportuni-

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ties

ties offer, can be no juſt Subject of Terror to us who are Maſters of the Sea, and ſeparated from their Territories by that Element. A Paſſion for preying on others is natural enough for Princes that delight in having Slaves for their Subjects; but the primary Deſign of thoſe Monarchs in maintaining ſuch numerous Forces, is to continue the Slavery to which their People are reduced.

They know that human Nature abhors that State, and think their Subjects would throw off the Yoke, if they were not kept under by the ſame Force which firſt ſubdued them; and 'tis this which puts them upon other Expences, beſides that of a Standing Army. For this is the very Reaſon why in *France*, the Treaſury will not alter the preſent Method of collecting the Revenue, though of every Forty Millions raiſed upon the Nation, Twenty-four Millions are ſpent in the Charge of collecting. There are 150,000 Men employed in the Salt-Duty alone, and a much greater Number of Exciſemen and Officers employed in other Branches of the Revenue; ſo that a Town not bigger than *Northampton*, has in it 500 of theſe Officers, who with a Salary of 500 Livres (not 25 *l.* Sterling) a Year, ſtill take Care to die rich at the Expence of the People they oppreſs: And after the Revenue has been got in at ſuch an enormous Charge, one Third of it is given away in Penſions to all the noble Families in the Kingdom, the better to reconcile them to Slavery, purſuant to the Plan of Cardinal *Richelieu*; who was never at Reſt 'till by an infinite Variety of Arts and Pretences, he had drawn every Gentleman, that was happy in his Fortune, and reſpected in his Country, to Court; and kept him there all his Life in a State of Dependance, to the Ruin of his Fortune, and Beggary of his Family. Such immenſe Sums does the Arbitrary Power of the Monarch coſt the Kingdom of *France*.

Theſe Politics are not much different from thoſe of the late King of *Pruſſia*, whoſe Fancy for tall Men, and giving them vaſt Premiums to enliſt in his Troops, was (as I have been aſſured by a Gentleman of very good Senſe and Learning, who had ſpent a great deal of Time at *Berlin*) merely a Pretence; and calculated in Virtue of a Scheme he had formed, for impoveriſhing and cruſhing all the Nobility and Gentry in his Dominions; who ſerving generally in his Armies were, in order to make their Court the better, put upon procuring ſuch Gigantic Fellows at any Rate: And whenever any of them pleaded Inability, in Excuſe for not doing it, they were readily offered and ſupply'd by him, with ſuch Sums of Money as were neceſſary for the Service, upon Mortgages of their Eſtates; which by ſuch Means he got into his Power, and dying left his Succeſſor the general, and almoſt the ſole Proprietor of Lands in the Territories of *Brandenburg*. Such are the Precedents, which the *By-Stander* recommends ſo earneſtly to the People of *England*; nor is it unnatural to think that he does it with the ſame Views; ſince in a Nation already overwhelmed with Debts, the bare Charge of an Army will go far towards producing the ſame Effects, were there not other Miſchiefs attending it, that co-operate likewiſe towards enſlaving the People and ruining the Conſtitution.

Cowards giving a looſe to their Imagination, may fancy ten thouſand Dangers where there is not one in reality; and as Fear betrays the Succours which Reaſon would offer; Knaves may ſucceed, as well as find their Advantage, in heightening thoſe Fears; but ſurely more ridiculous Schemes never entered into any Body's Head; than thoſe which the *By-Stander* * has formed of Embarkations

* Pag. 16.

of

of *French* Troops from *Bourdeaux*, and various other Places, in order to make Deſcents in *England*. Every Body that knows any Thing of Tranſport-ſervice, and the inconſiderable Proportion that the *French* naval Force bears to ours, will laugh at them as mere Chimeras; but others will better judge of them, and of the like Attempts, by Experience on former Occaſions.

The *By-ſtander* refers us to two in the Time of King *William*, that of *La Hogue*, and the other propoſed from *Calais*, not (as he ſays) in 1692, but in the Beginning of 1696. There was not any Imbarkation made in either of theſe: But in the firſt of them, the *French* depended entirely on the Superiority of their Fleet, which they hoped would have deſtroyed the *Engliſh* Squadron before the *Dutch* could join it; and then being Maſters of the Sea, the Deſcent propoſed might indeed have been made with Safety, and the Forces landed might have been duly ſupplied with all Neceſſaries, and reinforced as they ſaw Occaſion. But when the Junction of the *Dutch* Fleet to the *Engliſh* rendered us ſuperior at Sea, and part of the *French* Navy was deſtroyed, the intended Invaſion was laid aſide as impracticable. In the other of 1696, it was purely owing to the late K. *James*'s Importunities, that the *French* Court ordered any Forces to the Side of *Calais*; but they reſolved, at the ſame Time, not to embark a Man, 'till an Inſurrection was actually made in *England*. All the Sollicitations of King *James*, and Repreſentations of his Friends, could not divert *Lewis* XIV. from this Reſolution; ſo that to remove the Difficulty, the late Duke of *Berwick* made the hazardous Voyage of this Kingdom, to prevail with thoſe whom they expected to riſe on the *French* landing, to begin the Affair with taking Arms themſelves. All his Arguments were in vain, and upon his Return, the few Troops drawn

drawn about *Calais* were removed to their old Quarters.

In ſhort, no Prince in the World, who is not Maſter of the Sea, will ever be prevailed on to ſend a Body of Troops into a potent Iſland, (becauſe he will deem it ſacrificing ſo many Men, when however plentiful the Country is, he cannot ſuccour them from Time to Time with Recruits, Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries) unleſs he can be ſure of their being joined by the People of the Country: Nor will he look upon any Repreſentations of an exiled Prince, of a few Refugees Abroad, or of diſcontented Particulars that come over to be proper Aſſurances in that Reſpect. No Prince or State ever did, or ever will, engage in ſuch an Enterprize upon ſuch Grounds; and let them be never ſo fully convinced of the general Diſcontent of a Nation, this will not however make them depend on being joined, or tempt them to run the Hazard of the Experiment. No body doubted of the general Uneaſineſs and terrible Apprehenſions of this Nation before the late Revolution; yet it was not that Diſaffection, but the ſolemn Invitation and Aſſociation, ſigned by great Numbers of the Nobility and Gentry, Perſons of the greateſt Fortunes, Credit, and Power in the Kingdom, and their Aſſurances of joining the Prince of *Orange* upon his landing, which determined the States of *Holland* to fit out a Fleet, and ſend a Body of Forces to make the Attempt. Beſides the Situation of *Europe* at that Time, was ſuch as probably never will be again; the Allies knew that the Acceſſion of *England* was neceſſary to reduce the Power of *France*; and ſince King *James* could not be brought in to join them, they wiſhed to have a King on the *Britiſh* Throne who was the Soul of the Alliance. For theſe Reaſons they readily came into the Meaſures of the *Engliſh*, alarmed at the wild Steps, into which Bigotry and the

the Counſels of a treacherous Miniſter had led that Prince; for no thinking Man can believe the Allies had any View for preſerving the Church of *England*, when one Article of the grand Alliance was to reſtore the Pope to his Rights, and cruſh the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, where every Thing ſeemed ripe for a Reformation. The *Dutch* had ſtill ſtronger Reaſons to wiſh a Change here; they well knew that one Reaſon which inclined King *James* to a Neutrality, was the Proſpect of an immenſe Increaſe of Trade and Riches to *England*, whilſt all *Europe* was engaged in War; they well knew that when Trade takes a new Channel, it ſeldom returns to the old; they well knew that in King *Charles*'s Time Schemes had been laid for demanding Reparation for *Amboyna*, and for encouraging our Fiſhing Trade; they knew King *James* underſtood Trade, and would encourage it; another Reaſon too might poſſibly weigh with their Politicians; for though the Prince of *Orange* was a true Lover of his Country, the *Dutch* always dreaded the Power of a Stadtholder, and by ſetting him on the Throne of *England*, they freed themſelves from that Fear, and became more confident of his conſulting and promoting the Good of his native Country, to which he was naturally inclined; and if he failed, they might, by diſclaiming any Hand in the Attempt, and depoſing him that made it, at once get rid of the Stadtholder, and make their Peace with King *James*. And after all, that Expedition was attended with ſuch a monſtrous Expence (according to the Account thereof in the Appendix, No. 1.) that no foreign Prince, or State, will ever put themſelves to the ſame Charge, to make the like hazardous Attempt in any Circumſtance of the Kingdom whatever.

I call it an hazardous Attempt, becauſe, though the Men of War in the *Dutch* Fleet were a third more

more in Number than the *Engliſh*, yet it was purely owing to Accident, to a Variety indeed of Accidents, that they were able to make a Deſcent. It may however be allowed, that the Aſſociation aforeſaid was a rational Ground for ſuch an Enterprize; and if we are to wait for another 'till the like Method be taken, a Man muſt be an utter Stranger to the preſent Temper, Spirit, Way of Thinking, and Jealouſies of Gentlemen in *England*, that can think it poſſible, however diſcontented any Number of them may be, for any three of that Number to be brought to truſt one another, ſo far as to join in ſuch an Act; ſo that as it is not reaſonable for any foreign Power to make ſuch an Attempt, without the like Invitation and Aſſurances, we may ſleep ſecurely 'till Doomſday without the Apprehenſions of any.

The *Scots* indeed before the Union, not yet generally corrupted by *Engliſh* Penſions and Luxury, had a greater Confidence in one another than they will ever have again: And when they ſaw the Independency of their Kingdom, which ſo many thouſands of their gallant Anceſtors had loſt their Lives to maintain, given up at once, their old Conſtitution deſtroyed, and the whole Nation inflamed on theſe Accounts, many of their chief Nobility and Gentry made (as ſome Writers tell us) a like Invitation to the Court of *France*, which ſeemed to hearken to it, more perhaps to curry Favour, and renew a Correſpondence with a Kingdom, which had been formerly in League with them for many Ages, than with any Proſpect of Succeſs. In Conſequence thereof, a few Forces were put on Board the Chevalier *Fourbin*'s Squadron in 1708; but with how ill a Will, is plain from the Circumſtances of that Affair, as I have heard it from the *French* and others concerned therein. The Fleet was ready, and the Men embarked: But *Fourbin* not caring to

quit *Dunkirk*, dallied away the Time, and could not find a Wind fit for Sailing. The Perſon whom his public Orders required him to obey, chanced to be ſeized with the Meaſles; but being impatient to be gone, was continually aſking after the Wind, and hearing it was fair, ſent for the Admiral, who then owning it, was ſurprized to hear the other ſay he would be carried on Board, and ſail immediately. In vain did *Fourbin* remonſtrate the Danger of ſuch an Action in the Height of his Fever; the other was reſolved, ſaid he muſt lie in Bed wherever he was, and could do ſo on Shipboard as well as at Land; and giving his peremptory Orders for ſailing, was put on Board, and the Squadron quitted the Port of *Dunkirk*. The Admiral could not help obeying thus far; but being got out at Sea, thought fit to ſtop two Days in the Flats off *Newport*; during which Time, a Gentleman of great Worth and Honour, ſtill living in this Place, being diſpatched by the Duke of *Marlborough*, to give Sir *George Bing*, who then lay at the Mouth of the *Thames*, Notice of the Sailing of the *Dunkirk* Squadron, paſſed from *Oſtend* in a ſmall Veſſel through the Middle of the *French* Fleet, and having executed his Commiſſion, was diſpatched back by Sir *George*, and paſſed a ſecond Time through the ſame Fleet without being ſtopped, and came ſafe to *Oſtend* with Advices to the Duke of *Marlborough*, who then employed him to hire Tranſports for ſending a Body of Troops over from *Flanders* to *Scotland*. *Fourbin* after the Loſs of two Days, by which Time the Violence of the Meaſles was over, was forced to ſail on; but though the Courſe to *Leith* is very well known, he took Care to ſtand ſo far Northward, that the firſt Land diſcovered in *Scotland* was the Height of *Peterhead*, 60 *Scotch* Miles North of *Edinburgh*; ſo that he was forced to ſail back as many Miles towards the South, to get into the Frith

of *Leith*, where he might have landed his Men if he had pleaſed; but delayed it, and refuſed even to put the Perſon, whoſe Order he was to obſerve, on Shore with his own Followers, under one Pretence or other, 'till Sir *George Bing*'s Fleet appeared; and then he made the beſt of his Way back to *France*.

If *France*, under all the Preſſures of an unſucceſsful War againſt a formidable Alliance, to whoſe Force hers was unequal, was ſo unwilling to venture a few Troops, in an Invaſion which might probably have diverted a conſiderable Part of the confederate Army, and diſconcerted the intended Operations of the approaching Campaign, it cannot with any Colour of Reaſon be imagined, ſhe ſhould be more inclined to run the like Venture, when ſhe is in no Diſtreſs, and ſeems on a Foot of Friendſhip with the Adminiſtration. Far from wiſhing or promoting a Change, ſhe would think it the greateſt Misfortune that could befal herſelf; for her Counſels are always directed by certain Maxims, which whoever comes into the Miniſtry there, is ſure to adopt whatever his private Sentiments or Inclinations were before. Among theſe there is none ſo firmly received, or that will be ſo inviolably obſerved, as "That *England* is their eternal Enemy, "both by Intereſt and Inclination; that it is indif- "ferent to them who is on the Throne of that "Kingdom, provided it be one that cannot hurt "them; that whatever Services they may do, or "Obligations they may lay upon him, they can "never expect Friendſhip from a King of *England*, "who is wiſe enough to know, and honeſt enough "to purſue the true Intereſt of his Country; that "as the weakening of an Enemy's Power is really "an Advantage of their own, it is their Intereſt to "keep *England* divided, rent aſunder by the Feuds "of Parties, enervated by Corruption, alarmed with

" with continual Jealouſies and Apprehenſions, and " put to enormous Expences (to the Ruin of the " Trade, and exhauſting of the Wealth of the Na- " tion) to guard againſt theſe Alarms; and that in " ſhort, it would be a ſort of Suicide in them, to " make any Attempt that might put the Kingdom " upon another Foot, or help to remove any of the " Inconveniencies ariſing from a diſputed Succeſ- " ſion". Theſe are Maxims which the *French* Miniſters unanimouſly profeſs: They were laid laid down to them by old *Louvois*, and there is a remarkable Effect in them, in diverting *Lewis* the XIV. and his Counſel, from the Reſolution they had taken at the Revolution, to aſſiſt the late King *James* effectually, the Execution whereof was only ſuſpended 'till the Return of the Miniſter from the Waters of *Forges* in *Normandy*, but laid aſide afterwards upon his Remonſtrance, related in the *Memoirs* of the late *Mareſchal de Villars*, Tom. 1. page 156.

There is therefore no manner of Reaſon to dread any Invaſion from *France*, or from any State upon which ſhe has an Influence: It is utterly inconſiſtent with the Maxims and Politics of that Crown to make one, whatever it may be to alarm us with the Apprehenſions thereof: And if People have been, at different Times, frightened out of their Senſes by ſuch groundleſs Apprehenſions, and tempted to ſell their Stock to Diſadvantage, it hath been owing chiefly to the Artifices of Parties and Stock-jobbers, who propoſed and found their Intereſt in ſuch falſe Alarms. It is very hard indeed, that honeſt Men ſhould be thus chouſed of their Money by a Pack of Knaves: But yet I ſee no manner of Ground for the *By-Stander*'s Outcries * of *Millions being annihilated on ſuch Occaſions*; nor can I conceive how the Nation in general could be a loſer by one *En-*

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gliſhman's ſelling, and another's buying Stock at lower Rates than uſual; for Foreigners, tho' too wiſe to be bubbled by ſuch ſenſeleſs Stories, lay at too great a Diſtance to profit of them by purchaſing at thoſe Rates before the Panick was removed. But though theſe falſe Alarms did for this Reaſon occaſion no Diminution of the Nation's Stock, it is however very happy for particular Perſons, that all the Inconveniencies which they uſed to ſuffer from thence, are (as the *proper Anſwer* juſtly obſerves) now removed by the Act againſt Stock-jobbing, paſſed in 1734.

Whatever were the Motives why Men of Senſe, at the Head of the Adminiſtration, who ought to know the Maxims of Government, and the true State ot Affairs in all Parts of *Europe*, have affected to give Credit to ſuch idle Rumours of Invaſions, ſpread about, from time to time, to that laſt ridiculous one of the *Swedes* in 1739, all of which have ſtill appeared to be without Foundation; the Uſe which the *By-Stander* makes of them, is to inculcate the Neceſſity of a Standing Army, and to plead for an Augmentation of Forces on ſuch Occaſions; but certainly with the worſt Policy in Nature. For conſidering the extreme Poverty of the Kingdom, the immenſe Load of Taxes that lie upon it, the Diſtreſſes of all Sorts and Orders of People throughout it; the running into new Expences, is increaſing a Burthen too great already for the Nation to bear, and under which it muſt, in all Appearance, ſink at laſt; and is running into a real Danger, to avoid one that is only imaginary.

As the *By-Stander* is fond of comparing the State and Conduct of Affairs in the Reign of King *Charles* II. with thoſe of the Reigns ſince the Revolution, it may not be improper to conſider his Situation and Conduct on the like Occaſions. He had been reſtored to his Throne by the admirable Prudence

dence and Addreſs of General *Monk*, who made an Army, generally averſe to the Thing he had in view, contribute to his Deſign, without letting one of his Officers into the Secret of his Intentions; which had they diſcovered, it would have been perhaps impracticable to have been effected, at leaſt without much Bloodſhed: and perhaps there never was upon Earth an Enterprize of ſo nice a Nature, attended with ſuch a Variety of Difficulties, and requiring ſuch a Number and Series of Steps, all properly adapted to the End, all to be taken in their due Order, and ſo juſtly to be timed, that a Miſtake in any one, or the moving of it unſeaſonably, might have ruined the whole Scheme, ever conducted ſo happily to Perfection.

But this Prince's Difficulties were not over with his Reſtoration, tho' none ever took more Pains to quiet the Minds of his Subjects than he conſtantly did, from the Moment of his Acceſſion, to the very End of his Reign. He found in the Kingdom an Army of 40 or 50,000 Men, which it was his firſt Care to diſband; an Army of Sectaries and Fanatics, diſaffected to Monarchy, grown inſolent by a continued Licentiouſneſs of many Years, and which on former Occaſions knew how to diſobey when ordered to be caſhiered. They did indeed ſubmit to be broke at this Time: But the old Leaven ſtill remained in both Officers and Soldiers, who were generally Enthuſiaſts, daring and fit for any deſperate Enterprize, bitter Enemies to the Conſtitution in the State, but infinitely more ſo to that of the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, which they ſoon ſaw reſtored to all her Rights, contrary to their Expectation. This enraged them to ſuch a degree, that for the firſt eight or ten Years after the Reſtoration, there paſſed ſcarce a Day, in which a Conſpiracy was not carrying on in the City of *London*, or in ſome Part or other of the Country to raiſe

raiſe an Inſurrection, and involve the Nation in the like Troubles from which it had juſt before been delivered. The Wiſdom, Experience and Vigilance of the Duke of *Albemarle*, and the Intelligence which he kept in all Parts, were of infinite Service for the Diſcovery, and in Conſequence thereof, for the defeating of thoſe Deſigns; but ſtill the Nation was kept in a continual Alarm by ſuch Diſcoveries.

Beſides theſe diſbanded Soldiers, every Part of the Nation was full of unquiet Spirits, bred up, poiſoned and corrupted in the Times of Confuſion, exerciſed in Military Affairs during the Fury of the Civil Wars, deſpiſing Dangers to which they had been accuſtomed, and not to be terrified by a View thereof, from engaging in any Undertaking, to which they were diſpoſed by their Paſſions, Intereſt, or Principles. They had been abſolute Maſters of the Kingdom for near 20 Years paſt; and ſeeing themſelves turn'd out of all, were ready in the Fury of their Reſentment, to run any riſk to recover their Power. They wanted not Arms to equip them for the Field, the People not being then ſtripped of their Arms, as they have been ſince under the Pretence of Game Acts, *&c.* And And they had 2000, popular, though factious Teachers, provoked at the loſs of their Livings by the *Bartholomew*-Act, diſperſed all over the Kingdom, to incite their late Congregations to join in an Inſurrection. The like Spirit prevailed in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; in the firſt of which the diſbanded Fanatic Officers formed a Deſign to ſeize the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and raiſe an Inſurrection, in which all of that Stamp, who apprehended themſelves aggrieved by the Act of Settlement, would readily have concurred; and in the latter a Rebellion actually broke out, though it was happily cruſhed by the Victory gained at *Pentland-Hills*, over the Forces of the Rebels.

In

In ſome Part too of this Interval, the King was engaged in a War with the *Dutch*, the Form of whoſe Religious Principles agreed with the Sentiments of this furious Party of Malecontents; who therefore depended upon Succours from *Holland*, to ſupport their Inſurrection, and had a regular Council of their Leaders, that ſat in *London*, and held a conſtant Correſpondence with another Council formed at *Amſterdam*, and compoſed of *Engliſh* Officers of their own Set and Principles; who after being broke in *England*, had entered into the *Dutch* Service, The States for their Part were ready to favour the Enterprize, whenever they ſaw it practicable; and were able by their Naval Force, which was then at its Height, to give them at any Time powerful Succours. But *Holland* was not the only Enemy King *Charles* had to oppoſe; *France* was ſo too at the ſame Time, in all the Greatneſs of her Power by Land, and Miſtreſs of a much better Fleet at Sea, than ſhe has at preſent, which enabled her, whilſt ours was diverted by the *Dutch*, to make a Deſcent whenever ſhe could think it might be done with Succeſs. *Ireland* during the War with theſe two Powers, was in no little Diſtreſs, being cut off from all their Commerce with both, of which ſhe uſed to make an Advantage; interrupted in all her Trade with Foreign Parts; and exaſperated likewiſe againſt *England* for the Prohibition of *Iriſh* Cattle, by which the Trade of the People of that Kingdom, was deſtroyed with this, in a Juncture when they could carry it on with no other Part of the World. The Proteſtant Intereſt in *Ireland*, had not at that Time half the Strength it has now, and the *Roman Catholic* Gentlemen, as well as Inhabitants of the ſame Religion, were then twice as numerous as they are at preſent; and were incenſed by the late ſpoiling them of a great Part of their Eſtates, by the Acts of Settlement, and the Decrees

crees of the Court of Claims; ſo that there could not be a Conjuncture more favourable and inviting, either for the *French* to make a Deſcent in *Ireland*, or for the *Dutch* to do the like in *England*; nor better Reaſon to preſume that their Forces, if once landed, would be joined by great Numbers in both Kingdoms.

In this Situation, infinitely more tickliſh and expoſed, than any that has been known in our Days, what Method did K. *Charles* take to ſecure himſelf and the Nation againſt Commotions at Home, or Invaſions from Abroad? Did he apply to that Parliament, which the *By-Stander* repreſents ſo very complaiſant to him on all Occaſions, for Power to take up and detain whom he pleaſed in Priſon, and to ſuſpend the *Petition of Right*, and all the Laws formerly made for the Liberty of the Subject? Did he ſeize any of their Members, and then acquaint the Houſe with the Breach of their Privileges? Or, indeed take up any Number of his other Subjects upon bare Suſpicion? Did he raiſe a Land Force of 40 or 50000 Men to be kept in the Kingdom for its Defence? Did he load the Nation with the Tax of a Million, to maintain ſuch an enormous Body of uſeleſs Forces? Did he ſeize the Occaſion to lay any Difficulties upon the Merchants, or any Embargo upon Shipping? No, he took none of theſe Methods; he loved his People too well to put them to needleſs Charges, though they laboured under no Debt; he thought that no wiſe State would dare to attempt an Invaſion here, whilſt he had a Fleet at Sea to ſecure the Coaſt, and hinder their Deſign; he truſted to the Affections of the Nation in general; who finding themſelves eaſy and happy under his Government, were averſe to any Change, and ſo much out-numbered the diſcontented Parties, that they were able to cruſh any Inſurrection before it could get to an Head. It was a War in earneſt,

not with an Enemy, weak, contemptible, remote, and unprovided with a Naval Force to diſpute the Sea, or venture an Engagement; but with powerful Enemies, lying almoſt round the Dominions of *Great-Britain*, and ſo near that the *By-Stander* * ſtiles the Paſſage *ſtepping* from one Country to the other, being ſeparated only by a narrow Channel, and Maſters of Fleets ſuperior in Number of Ships, and only equal'd by the Bravery of the *Engliſh* Seamen. And yet though the King was obliged to have a Fleet ſtrong enough to fight the *Dutch* and *French* Fleets united; and to have Capital Ships always in, Readineſs to re-inforce his own after the bloody Engagements, which happened in the Courſe of the War; he ſtill took Care that the Merchants ſhould never be without Convoys, whenever they were wanted; their Ships were not kept waiting at a vaſt Expence, nor diſabled to ſail by having their Hands preſſed; the Seamen too had ſuch Care taken of them, and liked the Service ſo well, that *they offered themſelves in ſuch Numbers, and were ſo earneſt to be liſted, that they employed and made Friends to the Sea-Captains, to accept them. See London Gazette*, N° 38. In a Word, ſo much Care was taken in this Reſpect, ſo good Order obſerved in the ſtationing of our Men of War; and ſo much Vigilance uſed by the Captains of thoſe Cruizers; that all the *Gazettes*, *Intelligences*, and other News-Papers of thoſe Times, are conſtantly filled with Accounts of Fleets of Merchant-men, ſailing under Convoy of our Ships of War; of *Dutch* Capers, *French* Privateers, and other Veſſels and Prizes taken from the Enemy, ſo that the Intelligence of *January* 2*d*, 1664, gives a Liſt of 100 brought into *Portſmouth* alone. Trade ſuffered little during the War; and the Nation, notwithſtanding its Loſſes by the Plague and Fire of *London*,

* Page 13.

came richer out of it, than ſhe entered into it, as Dr. *Davenant* obſerves; and received great Benefits from it for many Years after, as Sir *Joſia Child* has ſhewn in his Diſcourſe of Trade; particularly with Regard to the vaſt Number of *Dutch* Fly-boats that were taken in it, proper for the *Baltick* and *Eaſtland* Trades, which were of prodigious Uſe to us, and the only Thing that could have enabled us to carry on that Branch of Commerce with Advantage.

With Regard to the Land Service, King *Charles* did not think it needful to raiſe a ſingle Regiment on Account of the War; but truſting entirely to his Guards, and the Militia for the Defence of the Kingdom, found theſe abundantly ſufficient. This appeared on a remarkable Occaſion, for the *French* having in Favour of the *Dutch* declared War againſt us, on *January* 27, 1665, an Invaſion was threatened and expected immediately; Advice too was ſpread of their being actually landed in the Iſle of *Purbeck*. The next Maritime Counties hereupon put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence; and there appeared in little more than a Day's Warning, between ſixty and eighty Thouſand able reſolute Men, well armed to defend them; ſo that no Deſcent was then attempted, and his Majeſty ſatisfied with this ſignal Inſtance of Alacrity and Zeal, for his and their Country's Service, directed on *Feb.* 14, (See *London Gazette*, N°. 27.) this Militia to be diſmiſſed. The *French* afterwards at different Times during the Courſe of the War, drew down numerous Forces to the Coaſt of *Normandy*, in order to give this Kingdom Apprehenſions of the like Deſign; but they did not ſo much as alarm his Majeſty, or occaſion the leaſt Expence to the Nation; and even when the *Dutch* in the Year 1667, in the laſt Month of the War, taking Advantage of our Security in a Dependance on the Peace, then on the

Point

Point of Concluſion, coaſted with a great Fleet along our Shore from the Land's-End in the *Weſt* to *Newcaſtle*, *Northward*; they never could land a Body of Men, but they were immediately drove back to their Ships by the Militia; ſo little Reaſon is there to deſpiſe that Body of Men as uſeleſs, or to imagine a Standing-Army of regular Troops to be neceſſary, *even in a Time of War.*

Experience is infinitely a better Foundation for Judgment than any Man's Imaginations, eſpecially ſuch wild Ones as thoſe of the *By-Stander*, who may, if he pleaſes, frighten himſelf with Embarkations from every Part of the Univerſe; but they will never have the leaſt Effect upon any Man of Senſe, who conſiders the Situation of the Nation at the Time above-mentioned, and how well we were even then ſecured from an Invaſion, merely by our Fleet and Militia, without any Standing-Army. This ſingle Experience is a ſufficient Refutation of all the Pretences of the Advocates for the Neceſſity of a Standing-Army; for if ever a Deſcent in *England* was practicable, eaſy and ſafe, it was when *France* and *Holland* were united againſt us; thoſe two Powers having better Means and Facility of doing it, than *France* (now *Holland* is out of the queſtion) could have, even in Conjunction with all the other Powers of *Europe*.

We have very little Reaſon then to tremble at every Motion of the *French* Troops, as the *By-Stander* is fond of repreſenting us *. If he really does ſo himſelf, it is no great Argument either of his Courage or his Judgment, any more than it is of his Modeſty or Regard to Truth, to impute ſuch Fears to the Nation in its preſent Spirit, which breathes nothing ſo much as a War with *France*, for the Recovery of our Trade, and Support of the Queen of *Hungary*.

* Pag. 13.

I need not take Notice of ſeveral Blunders and Miſtakes of the *By-Stander*, which are already expoſed in the *Proper Anſwer*, nor of his Ignorance, very groſs if real, and very inſincere if affected; that the *French* getting Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was owing not to the diſbanding of the *Engliſh* Army after the Peace of *Ryſwick*; but to the Treaty of Partition. I ſhall only obſerve farther, that had theForce kept up in *England* been ten Times greater than it was, it could not have prevented the fatal Effects of that Treaty; or if it would, King *William* muſt have had leſs Regard to the Intereſt of this Nation; leſs Concern for preſerving the Ballance of Power in *Europe*; leſs Credit with the People of *England*, or leſs Capacity for Government, than King *Charles* II. had; (none of which I fancy will be eaſily granted in theſe Times,) or he might have ſaved *Flanders* at leaſt, from falling into their Hands. In the Beginning of the Year 1678, when the Troops of *Lewis* XIV. were over-running that Country like a Torrent, and no other Means appeared of ſaving the leaſt Part of it; King *Charles*, though he had no Standing-Army on Foot, did yet in the Space of forty Days, put 90 Men of War to Sea, and raiſed a Body of 30000 Men; 10000 of which were immediately tranſported over to *Flanders*, and the reſt were following with all poſſible Expedition; when *France* not yet weakened with a Ten Years War againſt a mighty Confederacy, thought fit to conſent to ſtop the Progreſs of her Arms, and ſubmit to the Peace of *Nimeguen*. Such was the Vigour with which that *Engliſh* Prince, exerted himſelf to ſtop the exorbitant Greatneſs of the *French* Monarch. Had King *William* (after the Power of *France* had been reduced, and her Finances exhauſted by a long War) with potent Allies to ſupport him; whoſe Parliaments were ever as ready to grant, as he was

to crave, any Sums, how immenſe ſoever, that were wanted for a *French* War; who had already a number of old Regiments on foot, ſo thin of Men, and ſo overſtocked with Officers, that their Force might have been trebled in a Week; beſides a vaſt number of Half-pay Officers, an Eſtabliſhment never known before in *England*; had, I ſay, King *William*, with theſe and other Advantages, which his Uncle wanted, exerted himſelf in 1700, in the ſame manner that King *Charles* did in 1678; the *Dutch* Troops would not have been ſo eaſily turned out of their Garriſons, in the ſtrong Towns of *Flanders*; which afterwards coſt this Kingdom an infinite Expence of Blood and Treaſure, and that victorious General, the late Duke of *Marlborough*, (though attended with a conſtant Train of Succeſs) ten Years Time to recover.

The *By-Stander* * imputes the Reduction of the Army to 7000 Men to the Malice of the *Tories*, and the Infatuation of the *Whigs*. But what room is there for the Charge of Malice, when the *Tories* did the ſame Thing in the Time of Queen *Anne*, (to whom certainly they had no Malice) after the Peace of *Utrecht*, as they contributed to the doing after that of *Ryſwick?* The Adminiſtration and all the Power of the Nation was in their Hands, when the Peace of *Utrecht* was concluded: And if they had entertained any ill Deſigns, they would naturally have kept up a Standing-Army, and have modelled it for their Purpoſe, as other Miniſters have done ſince for theirs. They could have found their Private Intereſt in it, as much as any Miniſters have done ſince; had it been conſiſtent with the Duty they owe their Country, and the Regard they profeſs to its Liberties: And if they have conſtantly oppoſed a Standing-Army ſince, it ſhews ſuch a Conſiſtency in their Conduct; (which has been in

* Page 12.

this

this Point ſo equal on all Occaſions) that it muſt be the Height of Prejudice and Injuſtice to impute ſo conſtant a Series of Conduct to any other Motive than Principle, which ever ſhews itſelf uniformly in all Times and Situations whatever.

What the *Tories* did after the Peace of *Utrecht* was entirely their own Act; but what was done for breaking the Army after that of *Ryſwick*, they were not able to effect of themſelves; and it would be unpardonable to rob the *Whigs* of any Share of their Merit in that Act of Juſtice to their Country. Every Body that knows the Affairs of that Time, knows likewiſe that the Government had taken ſuch Meaſures with the Members of Parliament; that when it met, they thought themſelves ſure of carrying their Point for a numerous Army; of which the *Dutch* Troop of Horſe-Guards, and Lord *Portland*'s *Dutch* Regiment of Horſe, making the firſt 220, and the latter 699 Men, and the *Dutch* Blue Foot Guards of four Battalions, making 2670 Men, were to be a Part. But Mr. *Trenchard* publiſhing, at the meeting of the Houſes, his famous Pamphlet, entitled, *An Argument againſt a Standing-Army*; in the Title-Page of which appears the well known Fable of the Horſe and Stag, quoted out of *Horace*, this opened the Eyes of all the World, and ſhew'd them ſo evidently the imminent Danger of a Standing-Army, that it defeated all the Meaſures of the Miniſtry: The Army was reduced, and the *Dutch* Guards ſent to their own Country. But why muſt the *Whigs* be charged with Infatuation in this Conduct, when it was perfectly agreeable to their avowed Principles? Were their Predeceſſors in 1641, and 1680, to riſe out of their Grave, and ſee any Pretenders to that Name, voting now for a Standing-Army, they would denounce them Apoſtates from their Principles, and treat them with as much Scorn and Deteſtation, as the *By-Stander* puts upon the

the *Dutch* Guards, when *ſtepping from an ungrateful Land*, that choſe to truſt their Liberties to their own Countrymen, rather than to foreign Mercenaries.

I have not obſerved the *By-Stander* affecting to ſhew his Eloquence on any Subject ſo much, as on this of the *Dutch* Guards, for whom he expreſſes a Tenderneſs, that it would have become him much better to have ſhewed in the Behalf of his native Country; he breaks out into a pompous Declamation, and repreſents even the heroic General himſelf in Tears upon the Occaſion. With what View he does this, he can beſt explain: But every true Friend to Liberty will ever reflect, (with Gratitude to that Parliament) on the Merit and Conſequences of this Action of ſending away the *Dutch* Guards, to which a little Thinking will convince them, that the Name and Shadow we as yet retain of Liberty is in a great Meaſure owing. *Give the Waters Paſſage, not even in a little*, is one of the wiſeſt Maxims in Politics: Precedents are the Rule of Bodies of Men; Particulars that compoſe them ſcarce know what they do when they create them in any Caſe, much more in Points of high Importance and a dangerous Nature; for a ſingle Precedent is often worth more than a thouſand weighty Reaſons againſt it in a Debate. And had a Parliament once created a Precedent of keeping a ſtanding Force of *Dutch* Guards in this Kingdom, no body can tell what might by this Time have been the Conſequence. A Confidence placed in one Government cannot, with any Grace, nor even without the higheſt Affront, be denied to another. The like Merits would eaſily be found out in other Foreigners, and as fine Declamations made in their Favour, as the *By-Stander* uſes in Behalf of the *Dutch*; whoſe Complaints on this Subject are ſo very unreaſonable and extraordinary, as to give weak People, who do not ſee into the Depths of Politics, room to ſuſpect that

he wanted a Precedent which would have flattered ſome Views of his own, and ſerve to introduce other Foreigners, whenever his Patron's Intereſt, or the Diſtreſs of his Affairs, ſhould make it neceſſary for his Purpoſe; nor will they eaſily get rid of theſe Suſpicions, or find out any other Reaſon for thoſe terrible Complaints trumped up at this Time of Day, 'till he ſhall be pleaſed to aſſign a better.

It is ſcarce worth while to take Notice of the wild Schemes, which the *By-Stander* forms for the attacking of *France* in *Page* 19-20, and 23. That an *Engliſh* Fleet, with a conſiderable Land Force on Board, may make Deſcents on the Coaſt, harraſs the maritime Provinces, and put the *French* to the Expence of raiſing the *Ban* and *Arriereban*, is eaſy enough to be imagined, though two ſuch Enterprizes in King *William*'s Time did not turn to any Account; but how *an Attack* ſhould be made *by Sea in the Heart of the moſt fruitful Provinces of that Country* (*p.* 23.) is perfectly incomprehenſible. The *Cevennois*, in truth, made an Inſurrection during the late War, and ſubſiſted for ſome Time, by the Help of their Situation, in a vaſt Tract of craggy Mountains, running from the Extremity of the *Vivarais*, on the Side of *Lyon*, for 150 Miles in length to the *Gevaudan*. But our Fleet contributed nothing to this Inſurrection, nor was it able to convey them any Succours; the only Way by which this was poſſible to be done, was from the Coaſt of *Languedoc*; and this when attempted was found impracticable, as were all the Schemes formed, either by the Marqueſs of *Miremont*, or by *M. de Guiſcard*, either for ſending thoſe People Relief, or for raiſing Inſurrections in other Provinces. I have been ſeveral Times in *Normandy*, *Bretagne*, and *Languedoc*, and never found any Signs of Diſcontent in thoſe Provinces. There is no Prince of the Blood now to head an Inſurrection; there is no powerful united Body

Body of Proteſtants able to make a Stand againſt the Power of the Crown, and ſupport the Cauſe of Liberty; even the Nobility, corrupted by Penſions neceſſary for their Subſiſtence, ſuitably to their Quality, are as fond of their Chains as the common People, after being ſo long uſed to them, and have adapted the ſame mean ſervile Spirit; ſo that no Head can be formed there for an Inſurrection, and as there are no ſtrong Holds in the Heart of the Kingdom to ſecure People that riſe, for a few Days, 'till they can get to an Head, it is utterly impracticable to raiſe a Rebellion (however People were diſpoſed to it) but it muſt be quelled in a Moment.

Were it otherwiſe, it would ſtill be a ſtrange Madneſs in Politics, for us to beggar ourſelves with Taxes, to maintain a large ſtanding Army in Time of Peace (which the *By-Stander*, in his great Wiſdom and Providence recommends) in order to attack *France* in this Way, whenever a War ſhall break out. The Inſtance of King *Charles* II. abovementioned ſhews, that this Nation is always in a readineſs to ſend Forces Abroad when neceſſary; ſince forty Days Time has been found by Experience ſufficient for that Purpoſe; and the ſame Experience ſhews us, that new raiſed Forces are not uſeleſs becauſe they are unexperienced; for the 10,000 *Engliſh*, which charged under the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Offory*, at the Battle of St. *Dennis* near *Mons*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Bravery, above the reſt of the Confederate Forces in that Action, and it was chiefly by their Efforts, that the great *Luxemburg*, at the Head of a *French* Army, compoſed of *Veterans*, and better Troops than *France* can boaſt of now, was forced to quit the Field, and the Blockade of *Mons* was raiſed. No Troops of our own in the late War ever behaved themſelves better, than theſe freſh Men did in that Battle; and indeed, I have heard it allowed univer-

ſally by Officers of different Nations in *Europe*, that the *Engliſh* Recruits will fight as well the firſt Campaign (which can be ſaid of no other Nation), as if they had been inured to Service, and will never quit their Officers in any Danger whatever, but ſtand their Ground as long as their Leaders will dare to keep the Field. Nor is this a new Obſervation; the Caſe was ever the ſame; ſo that though we had no ſtanding Army in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* or King *James* I. yet that great General Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, choſe to fight with the new raiſed *Engliſh* ſent to his Succour, even before their *Engliſh* Beef was digeſted in their Stomachs.

The *By-Stander*, having laboured for 28 Pages with Dreams of Imagination rather than Arguments, to lull the People of *England* into a falſe Security, under all the Dangers and Grievances of a ſtanding Army, endeavours, in the reſt of his Performance, to reconcile them to the *preſent enormous Power of the Crown*, (*p.* 31.) and would fain have them believe it much leſs than its ancient Power, which he is willing to confound with the *Prerogative*. He complains heavily of the Author of the *Diſſertation on Parties* for concealing every Branch of its antient Power, and miſrepreſenting the State of Things; though after above 70 tedious Pages of wretched Suppoſitions and unfair Calculations, fit rather to puzzle a Cauſe than clear it, he leaves him at laſt as he found him, *i. e.* unrefuted.

It is a ſtrange Thing, that People will be giving themſelves Airs of pronouncing in a deciſive Manner, touching Things of which they muſt be conſcious they are utterly ignorant. One naturally pities Ignorance, when it is attended by its decent Companion Modeſty; but when it ſtruts forward with an inſolent Air, accompanied with Self-Confidence and a Cenſure of others, it is inexcuſable, and deſerves to be expoſed. The *By-Stander*, when he

ſpeaks

ſpeaks, *p.* 30. about the ancient Power of the Crown, expreſſes himſelf ſo unintelligibly to every Antiquary, that it is plain he knows nothing of the Matter, and one muſt have Recourſe to Gueſs-work to make out his Meaning. I am willing, however, in Conſideration of his Ignorance, to impute to his wretched Informers the Miſtake about *W. Rufus*'s exacting 20 Shillings a Head from 20,000 Men, whom he had ſummoned for his Service in *Normandy*: It is lamentable that they can't ſo much as tell him Truth in mere Trifles. *W. Rufus*, with leſs Senſe, was full as arbitrary as his Father the Conqueror: And no Precedents of his were thought fit to be copied in other Reigns. *Matthew Paris* relates this Paſſage in the Year 1094, and ſays, that *W. Rufus* falling unjuſtly, and contrary to the Sentence of their common Arbitrators, upon his elder Brother *Robert* in *Normandy*, the latter invited to his Aſſiſtance *Philip*, King of *France*, who came with a mighty Army, which would have inveſted and taken *Rufus*, if he had not by a Sum of Money prevailed upon that King to retire with his Forces. *Rufus*, in this Circumſtance, had more Occaſion for Money than he had for the Service of the Men he had ſummoned, and therefore ordered them to be diſmiſſed at the Sea-ſide, upon paying not 20, but 10 Shillings a Man for their Victuals; which, whether they were ſupplied with out of his Magazines, the Hiſtorian does not ſay; nor does he complain of it as an Oppreſſion, which he ſeldom fails to do in the Caſe of any Grievance.

Before I take Notice of what the *By-Stander* ſays further on this Subject, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that by the *ancient Power of the Crown*, I mean that Power which was inherent in it, and exerciſed by it conſtantly and regularly in ordinary Caſes in the common Courſe of Government: And by the *Prerogative*, I mean that Power which it aſ-

ſumed on extraordinary Occaſions, ſudden Emergencies, and in Caſes of Neceſſity; in which Caſes Mr. *Locke*, in his Diſcourſe of Government, is an Advocate for its Exerciſe. This I take to be the Senſe in which theſe Words, *the royal Prerogative*, are generally uſed by Writers, that expreſs themſelves determinately; and in this Senſe the *Prerogative* certainly was little more than a *Phantom*; becauſe the Exerciſe of it being unuſual, it always created ill Blood, and did more Prejudice than it ever brought Profit to the Crown. Of this Kind I take *the Loans*, *Benevolences and free Gifts* (of which the *By-Stander* complains) to be: But the People were ſo far from being *continually forced* to grant them, that I do not believe he can produce a dozen Inſtances thereof from the Conqueſt to this Time: I am ſure that I have obſerved no more than theſe following, *viz.* One in the 11th of *Edward* I. two in each of the Reigns of *Richard* II. and *Edw.* IV. and one in each of the Reigns of *Henry* VII. *Henry* VIII. King *James* and King *Charles* I. which laſt brought in ſo little, and occaſioned ſuch general Diſcontent, that no Prince in his Senſes will ever venture on the like Experiment again.

Fines were anciently paid for the Grants of Liberties and Franchiſes, in Law-Proceedings, for Licenſes to marry, and in other Caſes, for Offices, Privileges, and Favours of different Natures; but I do not believe it coſt the Subject more to obtain theſe in former Times, than it doth now; only the Money went into the King's Treaſury, and now it is ſunk in the Pockets of his Miniſters and Servants. But *Compoſitions for Scutage and Knights Service* were never heard of by any Mortal, 'till the *By-Stander* has thought fit to bring them on the Stage, and (what is yet more extraordinary) by a creative Talent, which would, in the Time of King *Henry* VII. have enabled him to ſupplant *Empſon* and *Dudley* in

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that Prince's Favour, and have recommended him to the firſt Poſt in his Finances, hath raiſed *an inexhauſtible Fund of Wealth* out of theſe Compoſitions *to the Crown.* Knight-Service was a Kind of Tenure, by which Lands were held either of the Crown or of the Lords, and which obliged the Tenant to no Payment of Rent, but only to perſonal Service. Scutage was indeed a Payment in Money, aſſeſſed upon Knights Fees in lieu of perſonal Service; for every Perſon who held of the King as of his Crown by Knight-Service, was obliged to do perſonal Service in the King's Army, or in ſome of his Caſtles, or find another Knight to do it in his ſtead; and could not be excuſed from this Service, though he was ready to pay the Scutage, without the King's expreſs Conſent; though ſuch as held Lands by Knight-Service, as of ſome Honour devolved to the Crown by Eſcheat, were not obliged to the like perſonal Service, being excuſed by paying their Scutage. This Scutage, or pecuniary Payment in lieu of perſonal Service, varied often as to the Quantity of the Rate; but the ſame Rate was aſſeſſed upon every Body in Proportion to the Number of their Fees; it was generally from one to three Marks a Knight's Fee, ſometimes 10 Shillings, but hardly ever above three Marks, and very ſeldom ſo high. Now the ordinary Value of a Knight's Fee in thoſe ancient Times was 20 Pounds a Year (though the Lands now might well be ſet for 500 Pounds a Year) and I am apt to think the Gentlemen of *England* would now-a-days gladly enough ſubmit to ſuch Payments, rather than to the heavy Taxes, which they pay out of their Eſtates every Year, whereas the Scutages were but rarely levied. In the active Reign of *Henry* II. more infeſted with Wars than any other in our Hiſtory, I find but 7 Scutages aſſeſſed; in that of *Richard* I. but two; in King *John*'s eleven, fifteen in the 56 Years of *Henry* III.

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and one in his Son King *Edward*'s Reign; after which I find no Mention of them either in the Pipe-rolls, or in our old Hiſtorians or Statutes. So that if theſe Scutages be what the *By-Stander* means by his *Compoſitions for Scutage and Knights Service*, I can't ſee any Reaſon for his Aſſertion, that an inexhauſtible Fund of Wealth aroſe from them to the Crown.

Whatever this Branch of the Revenue originally produced, the Crown was ſoon defrauded of a great part of it, as Mr. *Madox* informs us in his *Baronia Anglica*. *William* the Conqueror diſtributing the Lands of *England* among his Barons created, ſome ſay 60,000, and others 32,000 Knights Fees; Mr. *Madox* inclines to this laſt Opinion. Theſe Grants were made by the Crown to the Barons upon Terms eaſy enough, no Rent being reſerved upon them; only the Tenant was obliged to ſerve the King perſonally in his Wars, and without Pay for forty Days, and was ſubject to three occaſional Aids, *viz.* for the King's Ranſom, the making his eldeſt Son a Knight, and the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter. If the Tenant could not conveniently attend the King in the Field, nor get another Knight to go in his ſtead and perform the Service, he paid Scutage; which at the higheſt Rate of 40 *s.* a Knights Fee, was an eaſy Commutation enough for a perſonal Service in all the Dangers and Incommodities of the Field for forty Days, at his own Expence, (it being but 1 *s.* a Day) and even this Money he was repaid by his own Under-Tenants, as he would have been in Virtue of the King's Writ, had he performed his perſonal Service; ſo that Gentlemen ſuffered no great Hardſhip in this Reſpect. Now this Scutage was ſcarce above once in forty Years rated ſo high as at 40 *s.* the Knight's Fee, and at this Rate it would have produced 64,000 *l.* if it had been duly paid, and no one Body had performed his Duty of perſonal Service.

Service. But Mr. *Madox* tells us, that when the Barons and Knights were ſummoned to the Field, they were, upon their Arrival in the Hoſt, muſtered by the Conſtable or Marſhal, and delivered in Certificates or Accounts of the Number of the Fees they held, and generally took Occaſion to ſink or conceal a good Part of them; a Fraud which thoſe great Officers, not having by them the old Rolls and Certificates lodged in the *Exchequer*, could not diſcover: And the Fraud went daily on continuing and increaſing, 'till this Branch of the King's Revenue was reduced to a Trifle. For when Proceſs iſſued out of the *Exchequer* to levy Scutage, (according to the Certificates and Rolls there lodged) upon the Abſentees, theſe pleaded they were charged with more Knights Fees than they held, and produced the Certificates of the Conſtable and Marſhal for their former Service, fraudulently obtained as is ſaid above. This introduced great Confuſion in the levying of Scutage, Perſons being charged for ſome Time for ſo many Fees as they owned, and for ſo many as they did not acknowledge; and no Way could be found to remedy this Diſorder, but by leaving it to the Nobility and Gentry to fix the Number of their own Fees, and getting them to meet together to ſettle the Rate of the Scutage; which being ſeldom above 20 *s.* a Knight's Fee; and the Number of theſe Fees being thus reduced, probably to one half, the Scutage would not produce above 16000 *l.* This being the Caſe, and *Edward* I. having ſettled the Form of our Parliaments agreeable to their preſent Conſtitution, our Kings (I ſuppoſe) finding the Way of Subſidies upon Land more profitable and convenient for their Affairs, did not think fit to inſiſt any longer upon this Revenue of Scutage, which the *By-Stander* repreſents as *inexhauſtible*.

By Compoſitions for Knight's Service, I fancy the *By-Stander* means Compoſitions for *Knighthood*, every Perſon being obliged by ancient Cuſtom, if he held 20 *l.* a Year (the Value of a Knight's Fee) of the King *in Capite*, to receive Knighthood at his Hands, if ſummoned, when he came to a certain Age, to receive it: In ancient Times when the Feudal Cuſtoms were kept up in all their Rigour, there were ſo many Privileges annexed to Knighthood; that every Tenant of the Crown by Knight's Service, would gladly have given more than the Fees of Creation, to have his eldeſt Son knighted; ſo that there was little Occaſion for any ſuch general Summons, as (like that of the 25 *Henry* VIII.) was uſed in King *Charles* Iſt's Time, who thought he mitigated the Law, in ſummoning only ſuch as held 40 *l.* a-Year (double the reputed Value of a Knight's Fee) immediately of the Crown, and empowered Commiſſioners in each County, to compound with ſuch as did not care to be knighted; of which, as Lord *Clarendon* has given an Account in his *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, I ſhall ſay no more; only obſerving that whatever Revenue aroſe from hence in ancient Times, it came in by ſmall Sums, and was too inconſiderable to engage the Notice of our Hiſtorians.

The Grants of Monopolies brought in little or nothing to the Crown, whatever they did to the Miniſters and Officers about Court, by whoſe Recommendation, and through whoſe Hands they were to paſs. They were made upon the Pretences of uſeful Diſcoveries, and of Improvements for Public Good; and paſſed in the uſual Forms, after having undergone the Examination of the proper Officers, and been approved of by the King's Counſel. If the King was deceived in any of theſe Grants, it is a Misfortune that has happened to the wiſeſt, through the Avarice and Corruption of their

Miniſters, upon whoſe Report they rely in ſuch Caſes; and it happened in many Caſes to Queen *Elizabeth* herſelf, notwithſtanding all her Sagacity, Strictneſs of Enquiry, and Jealouſy of all that were about her Court.

Ship-Money had been an old Tax levied by the Prerogative, even in the *Saxon* Times, and paid in Virtue thereof in every Reign after the Conqueſt, 'till we loſt all the Provinces that belonged to us in *France*; after which there were few Occaſions of fitting out Ships for foreign Expeditions and Services. It ſeems to have lain heavier on the Maritime Places, on ſome Occaſions, in former Times, than it did in King *Charles*'s; for King *Edw.* III. had eleven Hundred Ships fitted out upon his Writs at the Seige of *Calais*, of which 44 were furniſhed by the Town of *Foway* in *Cornwall*, which muſt have occaſioned a vaſt Expence, though borne by the whole County. Since Men of War are come in uſe, the Ships of ſuch Towns are of little Service in War, and the Tax was grown obſolete, when King *Charles* revived it, to enable himſelf to clear the Sea of Pyrates, to ſupport the Honour of the *Engliſh* Flag, and to put the Royal Navy into a good Condition. He raiſed it for four Years, and it brought in about 200,000 *l.* a-Year; and it would be very happy for *England*, if the immenſe Sums of Money ſince raiſed for the Sea-Service, had been as faithfully and effectually employed to the uſe of the Navy, the Benefit of Commerce, and the good of the Kingdom.

The *By-Stander* is further pleaſed to aſſert it as a Thing, *than which, nothing is more evident, that the Prerogative gave the Crown a Power almoſt unlimited, over the Lives and Properties of the Subjects*; but he does not vouchſafe to ſpecify any one Point of the Prerogative, which carried with it ſuch a Power. *Dolus latet in generalibus*, is an old

Maxim; 'tis the Practice of all Deceivers to advance Things boldly which have the not leaſt Foundation; and to deal in general Aſſertions, which prove nothing, and ought ever to be miſtruſted, as calculated only to impoſe on the weak and credulous Part of the World. What little Reaſon there is for this of the *By-Stander*'s will appear, when I come to compare the Power of the Crown in former Times, with what it is at preſent; which I had chiefly in my View, when I begun theſe Remarks on the *By-Stander* *, who has the Aſſurance to maintain, that the Power of the Crown is not increaſed ſince the Revolution; (and what muſt be more ſurpriſing to every Man that feels the Burden of our Taxes,) not even in *the Power of Money*. As this is the main Point for which he labours from *Page* 31. to the very End of his Pamphlet; though he takes Care often to loſe Sight of his Argument by interſperſing Reflections foreign to the Subject, and to amuſe his Reader with ridiculous Suppoſitions; I ſhall therefore conſider this Point more particularly than he has done, and with more Method than he could have done without expoſing himſelf.

Our Kings for ſome time after the Conqueſt had very few Aids from their Subjects; but lived almoſt entirely on their own Revenues. *William* the Conqueror's firſt View in dividing the Lands into Knight's Fees, and diſtributing theſe among his Barons, was to provide for the Defence of the Realm. What was not thus diſtributed he either kept in Demeſne to ſupply his Houſhold with Proviſions, or granted out to Towns and Boroughs, at a certain Fee-Farm Rent, and ſubject to ſome occaſional Duties. Lands held of the Crown *in Capite*, by Knight's Serivce, paid nothing in Money to the King, except occaſionally in three Caſes, *viz.* to marry his eldeſt Daughter, to make his eldeſt Son a

* Page 35.

Knight,

Knight, and to ranſom his Perſon if taken in War; in all which Caſes theſe immediate Tenants of the Crown, received the like Aids from their Vaſſals or Under-Tenants, ſo that they were no Loſers by theſe Duties and Payments. The Towns alſo and Boroughs, Manors and Lands of the King's Demeſne, were ſubject to theſe occaſional Aids, paid generally under the Name of *Hidage*; none of which could be charged above once in a King's Reign; and the laſt never happened but once, in in the Caſe of *Richard* I. when it was rated at 20*s.* the Knight's Fee. The Rate aſſeſſed for the other two Aids, varied at different Times. *Henry* I. took 3*s.* for each Hide (which was about 100 Acres) for the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor. *Henry* II. for the Marriage of his to the Duke of *Saxony*, levied one Mark upon each Knight's Fee. There was no Aid of theſe Kinds in the Time of *Richard* I. or of King *John*, whoſe Daughter *Iſabel*, was not married to the Emperor 'till his Son's Reign, when two Marks were paid out of every Knight's Fee, a greater Aſſeſſment than ever was made on the like Occaſion; for when *Henry* III. married his own Daughter, the Quota was but 20*s.* a Fee; and this was the laſt Time any King of *England* fixed the Rate; it being aſſeſſed in the Time of *Edward* I. and ever after by Conſent of Parliament. And if it be conſidered how much the Number of Knight's Fees was leſſened by the Concealments, uſed to defraud the King of his Scutage, this Aid can hardly be thought to exceed 16000 *l.*

If this Aid was raiſed but ſeldom, that for knighting the King's eldeſt Son, was levied ſtill more rarely. Mr. *Madox* being able to find but one Inſtance of it, in the Time of *Henry* III. when Prince *Edward* was knighted, and then the Aid was ſettled by the Grant of the Barons themſelves aſ-

ſembled in Parliament, at 40 *s.* a Knight's Fee, at which Rate it might amount to about 32,000 *l.* Theſe were all the Sums raiſed upon Land on theſe three Accounts to the Time of *Edward* I. when the regular meeting of Parliaments occaſioned the old Duties to be diſuſed, and all Aids were granted in the Way of Subſidies upon Land, and of Tenths, Fifteenths and Twentieths upon Goods and Merchandize, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

The Crown had likewiſe ſome caſual Branches of Revenue ariſing from vacant Sees and Abbies of Royal Foundation, whoſe Lands were on the Death of Prelates ſeized into the King's Hands, and he enjoyed the Profits thereof during the Vacancy. Such alſo were the Wardſhips and Marriages of Minors, and the Reliefs paid by Heirs when admitted to the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates; (for which however they received an Aid from their own Tenants) Fines for Liberties, Privileges and Licenſes, and in Law-Proceedings; of which in thoſe early Times it is not eaſy to make a juſt Eſtimate; and therefore I do not attempt it; and the rather becauſe whatever Payments were made on theſe Accounts, they were not raiſed out of the People in general; which may be ſaid likewiſe of the Tallages levied occaſionally upon the *Jews*.

The conſtant ſtanding Revenue of the Crown in Money, ſeems to ariſe only from the Cuſtoms and Priſage of Wines, (no great Matter in Times of ſo little Trade,) the Fee-Farm Rents of Counties and Towns, which being paid to this Day in the Sheriffs Accompts ſeems ſo inconſiderable, that no-body, for this Reaſon, or becauſe they were Rents originally, reckons them in the Liſt of our Taxes; and from the old *Saxon* Tax called *Danegeld*; which, if we compare the Rates of Counties, as *Eſſex* 252 *l.* 6 *s.* *Wiltſhire* 199 *l.* *Middleſex* 85 *l.* 1 *s.* 6 *d.* a Year, &c.

&c. did not amount to above 7000 *l.* a Year; and this too was laid aſide in the Time of *Henry* II.

As for extraordinary Supplies to defray the Expences of Wars, which we now find ſo inſupportable; our ancient Kings had no Proviſion of their own, but what aroſe from Ship-Writs, which brought in no Returns of Money, but only of Veſſels for the deſtined Service, and from the Scutages payable in Caſe their Tenants *in Capite* did not come to the Field in Perſon; which were ſcarce equivalent to the Loſs of their perſonal Service; and ſuppoſing one in Ten to fail in obeying the Summons, would not amount at firſt to above 3200 *l.* and at laſt to not more than 1600 *l.* each Year of a military Expedition. What was further neceſſary for the War, was raiſed by the free Gift of the Barons, Towns and People, aſſembled in a Common-Council, or in Parliament; and our firſt Kings of the *Norman* Race, were either ſo good Managers, or ſo averſe to burdening the People, that they ſeldom had Recourſe to this Method.

To enumerate particularly all the Taxes raiſed on the Nation by our Kings, beſides what has been already mentioned on the ſubject of the three Aids, and that of Scutage; *William* I. levied only 6 *s.* an Hide on Land in the fifteenth Year of his Reign; and *William Rufus* in his Time raiſed nothing on his People, but the 10000 *l.* which at the Rate of 10 *s.* a Man he received from 20000 of his military Tenants, whom he had ſummoned to paſs over for his Service into *Normandy*. No Tax whatever was laid in the Reigns of *Henry* I. or King *Stephen*. *Henry* II. had very few, though it is amazing how he could carry on the continual Wars wherein he was engaged during a long Reign of 35 Years, with ſo little Charge to his People; for all that was raiſed upon them, was a Subſidy of 2 *d.* in the Pound on arrable Lands and Vineyards, and a 1 *d.*

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in the Pound on Houſes and Goods in the 12th Year; and in the 34th and 35th of his Reign, a Tenth of all Moveables; nor were theſe laſt for his own Service, but for the Relief of the Holy Land, a romantic kind of Piety very faſhionable in thoſe Days, to which the King himſelf contributed large Sums. *Richard* I's. Expedition to the Holy Land in Performance of his Vow, not only forced him to ſell the County of *Durham* to the Biſhop, and to pawn a great Part of his Revenues; but occaſioned a Tax on the People. Being taken as he was returning Home, another was laid to defray his Ranſome; and returning in want of all Things, a Tax of 2 *s.* an Hide was in his Sixth Year laid on Land to ſupply his Wants, as another of 5 *s.* was in his Tenth Year to ſupport the War with the King of *France*. This, though the ſhorteſt, was the moſt chargeable Reign to the Kingdom that had been ſince the Conqueſt.

King *John*, beſides his Exactions on the Clergy, which were grievous enough, and one of the Cauſes of the Troubles of his Reign, raiſed only a Tax of 3 *s.* an Hide on the People. *Henry* III. in his 5th, 8th and 9th Years, had Grants of 2 *s.* an Hide; in his 17th a 40th on Goods; in his 22d a 30th; in his 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, a Fifteenth, which with his Tallages on the *Jews*, Taxes on the Clergy, Scutages, and other Aids, levied in the firſt 41 Years of his Reign, *Matthew Paris*, *A.D.* 1257, computes to have amounted in the whole to 633333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* after which the People were burdened with no other Tax, but a Twentieth in his 51ſt Year, and (what the Religion of thoſe Days put them upon) a Fifteenth in his 55th Year, for his Son the Prince's Expedition to the Holy Land. *M. Paris* is an Author that never leſſens any Charge laid by the Crown on the People, and yet we ſhall hardly in theſe Days think it ſo enormous a Sum as he does, to be raiſed in the longeſt Reign

Reign of any Prince that ever ſate on the Throne of *England*.

Edward I. the wiſeſt and greateſt of our Kings, laid two Tallages on his Demeſne and Soccage Tenants: He had from the Laity Three Tenths, and Six from the Clergy, ſome of them for Relief of the Holy Land; to which purpoſe were alſo deſtined ſome of the ſix Fifteenths given by the former: The Clergy gave him one Fifteenth, and once a Moiety of their Goods, beſides two Twentieths; as the Laity did two Thirtieths and one Twentieth; beſides which in his eighth Year, the Boroughs gave him a Sixth, and the Commons an Eleventh, as they did a Seventh and Twelfth, in the 25th Year of his Reign. Theſe were all the Taxes raiſed in the Time of this active Prince, whoſe Wars for the ſubduing of *Wales*, and with the Crowns of *France* and *Scotland*, for the greateſt Part of the 35 Years of his Reign, neceſſarily required Supplies too large for his own Revenue to furniſh. It muſt be obſerved that, except four or five in the firſt Years of his Reign, all theſe Taxes were granted to him by Parliament; for having regulated the Conſtitution and Aſſemblies of that repreſentative Body of the Nation, he laid aſide all former Ways of Taxation, and choſe to have every Thing raiſed on the Subjects flow from their Grant, for which Purpoſe he paſſed an Act in the 34th Year of his Reign, providing that no Tallage or Aid ſhould be levied upon the People, but by their own Conſent in Parliament; ſo that from this Time we have a ſure Guide from our Statutes to know what Taxes were raiſed on the Nation.

Nor were they many or great in the following Reigns. *Edward* II. upon his coming to the Crown, had an Aid and Subſidy granted him for the *Scotch* War, in which he was involved. The Pope gave him two Tenths on the Clergy; and in

his 16th Year the Parliament gave him another Subſidy. Theſe were all the Taxes laid in his Time on the People.

Edward III. his long Reign of 51 Years was moſt of it ſpent in War, either with *France* or *Scotland*, and ſometimes with both. The glorious Succeſſes therein elated the People, and engaged them to part with their Money very freely, with a vaſt Expence to themſelves, and very little Advantage to their Country; nothing at laſt remaining to them of all their Conqueſts, but the Town and Territory of *Calais*. There were raiſed in his Time, beſides a Tallage in his 6th Year, three Tenths of the Clergy, a Ninth of the Laity in the 14th; and a Poll-Tax of four Pence an Head in his 51ſt Year; 17 Tenths and Fifteenths, (the Commons paying a Fifteenth when the Cities and Boroughs paid a Tenth) two Subſidies on Land, and ſeven on Wool; which laſt brought in more conſiderable Sums of Money than any of the reſt. But however difficult it may be to aſcertain the particular Amount of theſe Taxes, there can be none in fixing that of the Aid in the 45th Year of this King's Reign; (which is the firſt Inſtance of any Sum of Money to be raiſed by a Tax being particularly ſpecified,) when the Clergy granted him 50000*l.* towards his Wars with *France*, as the Laity did the like Sum to be levied at the Rate of 5*l.* 16*s.* a Pariſh; the greater to help the leſſer, throughout *England*. But whatever Aids were given to this Prince, they were ſtill ſcarce equal to his Wants and Neceſſities: So that after all he had very little Power of Money.

Richard II. had from his Parliaments 7 Fifteenths and Tenths, and as many Subſidies, ſome of which were appropriated, as particularly that in his fifth Year, being a Duty of 2*s.* a Ton upon Wine imported, and 6*d.* in the Pound upon all Merchandize, except Wool, Leather, &c. which Aid was not

not only appropriated, but was likewiſe appointed by Parliament, to be paid into the Hands of the famous Sir *John Philpot*, and two other Receivers of their naming, to be wholly applied to the ſafe keeping of the Sea, and no part thereof for any other Purpoſe. So that Appropriations of publick Money are much antienter than the Revolution, and were ſecured by much better Precautions, than any that have been taken ſince, or indeed are like to be taken, if the *By-Stander* hath any Influence, ſince he exclaims againſt them in *p.* 49. where he pronounces, that *to put the Management of the Taxes into any other Hands than the Crown's, is erecting two ſupreme independant executive Magiſtrates.*

Henry IV. beſides two Aids, the one a Moiety of Knights Fees, the other a Noble out of 20 *l.* had three Tenths and two Moieties of the Clergy, ſeven Tenths and Fifteenths of the Laity, and eight Subſidies, beſides one in his eighth Year of a very unuſual Nature, ſuch as had never been raiſed in the Reign of any lawful King, and ſo horribly oppreſſive to the People, that the Parliament which granted it, declared it ſhould be no Precedent, nor any Memorial of it be kept upon Record. Several of theſe Taxes, particularly thoſe in his 4th, 6th, and 8th Years, were alſo appropriated.

Henry V. beſides Tonage and Poundage, and three Tenths of the Clergy, had ſeven Tenths and Fifteenths from the Laity, and one Subſidy on Wares; Aids that bore little Proportion to the Expences his Wars with *France* muſt occaſion. There was no Tax upon Land in all his nine Years Reign; ſo that it is probable his Conqueſts, which were very rapid, contributed much to ſubſiſt his Army: However, he was ſo far from having any conſiderable Power of Money, that he left his Jewels, and thoſe of the Crown, in pawn at his Death.

Henry VI. was engaged for thirty Years together in a continual War with *France*, which ended with the Loſs of all the Provinces which he held in that Country. To ſupply this unfortunate War, beſides Tonage and Poundage, he had from his People three Poles and a Twentieth, nine Tenths and Fifteenths, (in which were ſome Appropriations) and thirteen Subſidies, either on Land, Wool, or Goods, not ſufficient to keep him from Indigence in every part of his Reign.

Edward IV. beſides a general Subſidy on all Foreigners, and an Aid of 37,000 *l.* in his third Year, had only ſix Tenths and Fifteenths in all the twenty-two Years of his Reign, to defray all his extraordinary Expences in the civil Wars, and in his Expedition into *France*.

In the Reigns of *Edward* V. and *Richard* III. there was no Tax, but only the Grant of a Tenth by the Clergy.

Henry VII. beſides two Aids for particular Occaſions, had from his People five Tenths and Fifteenths, and three Subſides; the laſt of which produced only 36,000 *l.* Theſe were but ſmall Sums for a Reign of twenty-four Years, yet he took Care to die rich, by the Fines he levied for the Breach of obſolete penal Laws and pecuniary Statutes, all parts of the Kingdom being brought into Trouble through the ſhameful Encouragement given to Informers; Evils to which this Nation never lay more expoſed than it does at preſent.

Henry VIII. (beſides two free Gifts, and that of Abbey and Church Lands, the Poſſeſſions whereof were ſoon devoured by his rapacious Courtiers) had from the Clergy a Moiety of their Goods, to excuſe them from the *Præmunire* Act; four Tenths and two Subſidies; and from the Laity four Tenths and Fifteenths, and ſix Subſidies. *Edward* VI. had in his ſecond Year an Aid of twelve Pence in the Pound

Pound on Goods; another in the Year following, which being found troubleſome to collect, was repealed preſently after, and ſupplied by a Subſidy. Theſe Grants, with a Subſidy and two Fifteenths in his ſeventh Year, were all the Taxes raiſed in his Reign. This laſt Subſidy was remitted by Queen *Mary* as ſoon as ſhe came to the Throne, in the ſame Act that ſettled Tonage and Poundage on her. The Clergy granted her a Subſidy for three Years, to be levied at 2 *s.* in the Pound a Year, and another afterwards for four Years at the like Rate. The Commons alſo in her third Year granted her a Subſidy on Land and Goods, and another in her laſt Parliament, with a Tenth and Fifteenth for carrying on the War againſt *France*.

Queen *Elizabeth*, in her long Reign of forty-four Years, had of her Clergy ſeventeen Subſidies, and from her Commons twelve Fifteenths, eighteen Tenths and Fifteenths, and ſeventeen Subſidies. Not to deduct what ſhe remitted of theſe Taxes after they were granted, the Produce of them altogether, is not computed to amount to more than is now raiſed upon the Subjects of *England* in one Year by the Land and Malt Taxes alone at the preſent Rate; and yet by her wiſe and frugal Management, ſhe was enabled thereby to cruſh a powerful Inſurrection in the North of her own Kingdom; to ſend four or five thouſand Men for ſome Years together to the Aſſiſtance of *Henry* IV. of *France*, againſt the Holy League and the *Spaniſh* Faction in that Kingdom; to ſuccour the diſtreſſed States of *Holland* with much greater Forces, and for a much longer Series of Years; to carry on a ſucceſsful War againſt the Crown of *Spain* for twenty Years together, whilſt that Kingdom was in the Height of its Power and Riches, and under the Government of the moſt politick of her Princes; to quell various Rebellions in *Ireland*, ſupported by

foreign Succours, and to maintain in the two laſt Years of her Reign an Army of twenty thouſand Men to reduce that Country to an entire Obedience. She never indeed burdened her People with an uſeleſs Standing Army at Home, not even when ſhe knew of the vaſt Preparations making in *Spain* and *Portugal* for the *Grand Armada* to invade her Realm, though there were then ten Times more *Roman Catholicks* than there are now in *England:* But truſted herſelf entirely to the Affections of her native Subjects, conſcious that ſhe meant nothing but for their Good; and truſted to them with Reaſon, becauſe they felt their own Happineſs in the Wiſdom, Juſtice, Lenity, and Oeconomy of her Government.

It is not eaſy to aſcertain the particular Sum, to which every Subſidy, Tenth or Fifteenth amounted in antient Times: But it was certainly inconſiderable, becauſe it appears from the Journal of the Commons, *June* 22, 1663, upon the Report of the Committee appointed to examine into the old Subſidy Books and Ways of Taxation, that an Eſtate there taxed at 20 *l.* a Year, was in 1663 worth 1000 *l.* a Year improved Value; and it was greatly improved by the new Valuations taken in the 32d, 34th, and 37th *Henry* VIII; about which Time the like Valuation was made of Eccleſiaſtical Livings, as may be ſeen in the *Valor Beneficiorum*, publiſhed by Mr. *Ecton*; according to which the Subſidies of the Clergy were ever after rated; ſo that one of their Subſidies of 6 *s.* in the Pound, payable, as they generally were, in three Years, did not amount to more each Year than the preſent Value of their Tenths; which poſſibly may be about 8000 *l.* a Year; I have not that Book by me to conſult, and therefore will not be more particular. But as to the Subſidies of the Laity of 4 *s.* in the Pound upon Land, and 2 *s.* 8 *d.* upon Goods (which with a Poll on other Perſons, ſo to make every Body contribute

bute to the publick Charge, was the general Method) they amounted from the Time of thoſe much improved Taxations, 'till the 31ſt of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, to about 100,000 *l.* a Year (as Dr. *Davenant* obſerves in his *Eſſay on Ways and Means*, p. 62.) but from that Time the Crown neglecting to have new Surveys made, People naturally recurred to their old Books of Taxation, and the Subſidies fell (as appears by the *Exchequer* Accounts from that Year to the 18th of King *James* I.) to 70,000 *l.* a Year; and the great Oracle of the Law, Sir *E. Coke*, (whom yet Sir *Francis Bacon*, who knew him well, thought much better verſed in Affairs of the *Exchequer* and Revenue than he was in Law) fixes the Amount of them to that Sum, as he does a Tenth and Fifteenth at 20,000 *l*, a Year. It appears hence, what inconſiderable Sums of Money were granted to this Queen and her Predeceſſors, in Compariſon of what are now granted.

The *Iriſh* Army in the two laſt Years of her Reign, put Q. *Eliz.* to the Charge of 400,000 *l.* a Year, and ſhe had been forced to borrow 40,000 *l.* of the City of *London*. She died before *Tyrone* ſubmitted; but her Death was not known 'till after his Submiſſion. There were Reaſons to fear he might be encouraged by that Event to break out into a new Rebellion, to which he and his Followers were ſufficiently diſpoſed. This obliged the King to keep up the Army in *Ireland* for the firſt Year of his Reign, in order to ſecure the Peace and Tranquility of that Country. The Charge of the Maintenance and diſbanding of thoſe Forces lay upon him; he paid his Predeceſſor's Debt of 40,000 *l.* to the City; he remitted (though with all poſſible Secrecy) for four Years after his Acceſſion (purſuant to a Stipulation between him and *Henry* IV. ſettled by the Duke of *Sally*,) conſiderable Sums of Money to the *Dutch*, to enable them to oppoſe the *Spaniards* in the Low

Countries; he was at the Expence of about 100,000 *l.* in the Marriage of his Daughter to the Elector Palatine; he had ſent 10,000 *l.* to that Prince after his Defeat near *Prague*, and 30,000 *l.* to the Princes of the Union; yet, notwithſtanding theſe Expences for the Honour of the Crown, the Safety of the Kingdom, and the Good of his People, he received in the firſt twenty Years of his Reign but ſix Subſidies and ſeven Fifteenths from his Parliaments. Nor was it for want of meeting them; for they ſat in the 1ſt, 3d, 4th, 7th, 10th, 14th, 18th, and 21ſt Years of his Reign; which was at leaſt as often as ever they met in Queen *Elizabeth*'s, and perhaps in any of his Predeceſſor's Times; ſo little Ground is there for the Charge laid upon him by the *By-Stander*, *p.* 32. *that he was unwilling to meet a Parliament.*

Nor is the Reaſon there aſſigned for this Unwillingneſs better founded; for as to the pretended Miſmanagements of his Government, after all the Recollection I can uſe with regard to the Paſſages and Conduct of his Reign, I can think of no Miſmanagement, but in the Caſe of the Monopolies; which he granted indeed, but granted upon Pretences of the publick Good, which he conceived might be promoted by them according to the Repreſentations of his Miniſters, at whoſe Inſtance they were granted. For he was honeſt, frank, and open himſelf, (perhaps too much ſo for a King that would be deemed a Politician) and this naturally diſpoſed him to be credulous, and rendered him eaſy to be impoſed on by the fair Pretences of others. But when he found by the Complaints of his People, that he had been deceived, and that theſe Monopolies had proved a Grievance inſtead of a Benefit to them, he recalled his Letters Patent, and by a publick Proclamation, vacated, condemned, and ſuppreſſed them all in general; nay, he went ſo far as (by an Exam-

Example too rare in common Life, and ſtill rarer among Princes) honeſtly to confeſs his Error; declared againſt the Adviſers of them in his Speech to the Parliament, and paſſed the well-known *Act againſt Monopolies* to prevent the like for the future. *England* could not fail of being happy, if all Kings were as ready to retract their Miſtakes, and redreſs her Grievances.

It is grown a Faſhion (for what Reaſon I cannot ſee, with what View I leave his Calumniators to explain) to rail againſt the Government of this King, the Honeſty of whoſe Nature, even *Buchanan* his Preceptor could not corrupt, tho' he infuſed into him a pedantick Vanity, which hurt his Character, by making him appear ridiculous on ſome Occaſions. Whatever Inconveniences flowed thence, they terminated generally in himſelf, and did not affect the Nation, any otherwiſe than as they affected his Character. He had Penetration, Sagacity and Judgment, more indeed in the Nature of Affairs and Actions than in that of Men; but he wanted Firmneſs to adhere to his Sentiments, and to take a Reſolution. He was plain and familiar, even to exceſs; merciful, humane, and beneficent; he really loved his Subjects, and deſired nothing more than to ſee them happy, unleſs it was to be the Means of making them ſo. A greater Injuſtice could not well be done his Character, than to repreſent him as crafty, the Eſſence and Foundation of which Quality is Falſhood and Secrecy; whereas the reverſe of this appeared in his Temper and Conduct; for he was but too ſincere and open, and too free in ſpeaking his Sentiments. It is not without good Grounds, that I preſume to do this Juſtice to that part of his Character; for though I never converſed with this Prince any more than his Accuſers, I have read Hundreds of his Converſations fully, particularly, and nakedly related in the Letters of the *French*, *Vene-*

Venetian, and other foreign Embaſſadors that reſided about his Court; all which prove what I here ſay beyond the poſſibility of Diſpute.

I have the ſame Authority to vindicate him from another Slander maliciouſly raiſed and thrown by a proud, ſpiritually proud, reſtleſs ſett of Men called *Puritans* (the Peſt of thoſe Times) upon all that differed from them, and did not eſpouſe their abſurd Notions in the Points of the quinquarticular Controverſy, and upon this King in particular, of being popiſhly affected; to which every Letter of thoſe Miniſters, wrote to the Princes and States that employed them, and to other Embaſſadors at *Rome*, in which they have continual Occaſions to ſpeak of this King's religious Sentiments, is a flat Contradiction; they always repreſenting him as the firmeſt Proteſtant in Nature, and the Man in the World the moſt averſe to Popery, and this Averſion ſo rooted in him, that he was not to be impoſed on by any Arguments, nor wrought upon by any Motives or Conſiderations whatever, either to ſlacken in his Zeal, or cool in his Inveteracy (ſo they term it) againſt the Tenets, and even againſt the Perſons, of the *Roman Catholicks*. Yet groundleſs as it was, this impudent Calumny, boldly aſſerted, and induſtriouſly propagated through the Nation, with the Jealouſies and Diſcontents which it occaſioned, (and which the King's Fondneſs for the *Spaniſh* Match, and his Affectation to ſhew his Learning in the Popiſh Controverſy, were wreſted to countenance) cauſed all the Difficulties and Uneaſineſſes of his Reign, and being conveyed down to his Succeſſors, contributed more than any Thing elſe to the Troubles of King *Charles* I's Time, and the Calamities which in Conſequence thereof have ſince attended this Nation.

To return to the Taxes of King *James*'s Time. We have ſeen, that in the firſt twenty Years of his Reign,

Reign, he had received but ſix Subſidies, and ſeven Fifteenths from his People; and it muſt be obſerved, that of the Money ariſing thence, 36,000 *l.* was appropriated to other Uſes; to the Relief of poor Towns and Cities decayed. He had retrenched the Expences of his Houſhold, yet was indebted 40,000 *l.* for his Wardrobe, and had been forced to borrow 120,000 *l.* of the City of *London*. The Diſtreſſes of the Elector Palatine, and the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which then bid as fair, as *France* does now, to domineer over all *Europe*, had engaged him in Meaſures to prevent the Ruin of the former, and reduce the exorbitant Power of the latter. He had, for this End, before the Meeting of the Parliament in 1621, remitted 50,000 *l.* to Count *Mansfield*, to enable him to keep his Ground in the Palatinate, had borrowed 75,000 *l.* of the King of *Denmark*, and was on the Point of making it up 100,000 *l.* and had paid above 200,000 *l.* more in aſſiſting the Palatine, beſides 20,000 *l.* which he had expended on his Navy. This Repreſentation of his Circumſtances in the Year laſt named, had procured nothing from the Parliament, more than two of the Subſidies before mentioned, and the Promiſes of a powerful Aſſiſtance when the War began for the Recovery of the Palatinate. The King had been treating for a long Time, and at a great Expence for that Purpoſe, and for the Prince of *Wales*'s Marriage; and his Wants were ſtill greater, when he called his Parliament in *February*, 1623-4, and paſſed all the Acts they recommended to him for the Good of the Nation. He laid before them his own great Difficulties at Home, and the melancholy State of Affairs Abroad; and as by Reaſon of his breaking off the two Treaties abovementioned, to gratify the earneſt Deſires of his People, he was going to be immediately engaged in a War, he propoſed to them the ſending an Army

of 25,000 Foot and 5000 Horſe under *Mansfield*, to recover his Son-in-law's Dominions. Parliaments were not uſed in thoſe Days to take all the Eſtimates and Repreſentations of a Court for granted, and comply with all its Demands, how burthenſome ſoever to the Kingdom: They gave Money with a ſparing Hand, and tho' they ſaw the imminent Danger and Neceſſity of a War, they gave his Majeſty but three Subſidies, and as many Fifteenths and Tenths for carrying it on, amounting to about 270,000 *l.* a Supply which was not only very ſlow in collecting, but very unequal likewiſe to the Service for which it was deſtined: And yet of this Sum they appropriated 18,000 *l.* to the Relief and Repair of certain decayed Towns; the Reſidue only being to be expended in the Management of the expected War.

To be ſure alſo of the right Application of this Money, they appointed eight Citizens of *London* to be Treaſurers, and ten other Perſons to be of his Majeſty's Counſel of War, both being obliged to take an Oath; the Treaſurers, that none of the Money ſhould iſſue out of their Hands without Warrant from the Counſellors of War; and theſe laſt, that they would make no Warrants for the Payment of any of the ſaid Money, but only for the End abovementioned; and all of them to be accountable for their Doings and Proceedings to the Commons in Parliament. We have here a remarkable Inſtance (at a Time when the Nation was loaded with no Debt, and had grown rich by a continued Peace of above twenty Years) not only of a ſtrict Appropriation of an occaſional Supply, the Neceſſity whereof was evident, but of the Receipt, Iſſue, and entire Management thereof, being put into other Hands than thoſe of the Crown. The *By-Stander* (p. 49.) (with a View he will not care to own, but which every Body will ſuſpect) may, if he

he pleaſes, exclaim againſt this, as *erecting two ſupreme independent Magiſtrates in the ſame Government*); but it is plain it was not deemed ſo formerly; and a Nation impoveriſhed by heavy Taxes, of which they can ſee no End, hath Reaſon to wiſh the ſame Method were now taken: And if they ſee all Means of Inquiry into an Account of public Money ſtopped up, and all Attempts of that Kind baffled and defeated, they may poſſibly, to ſave themſelves from imminent Ruin, be forced to revive the Precedent. In the Caſe before us indeed, the King himſelf propoſed the intruſting the Management of the Subſidies to Commiſſioners named by Parliament, tho' this Body carried the Point further, by appointing other Perſons to be Members of the Council of War, without whoſe Order no Money could be iſſued; for which however they ſeem warranted by ancient Precedents. For the Commons, having in the 12 and 14 *Edw.* IV. granted the King ſome Tenths and Fifteenths for a War againſt *France*, not only appointed Commiſſioners to receive them, and be Treaſurers thereof, but ordered them to iſſue no Money out of their Hands, 'till the King's Proclamation for the Muſter of the Forces was publiſhed; and the like Commiſſions had been appointed in 12 *H.* 7. to levy the Aids then granted in caſe of a War, but not to levy them at all, if Peace or Truce enſued. See *Rot. Parl.* 124. 4. *n.* 41. and 14 *E.* 4. *n.* 7. and 12 *H.* 7. *n.* 12, 513. We may obſerve further, that this was an Offer made by a King who was infinitely jealous of his Prerogative, tho' ſtill more deſirous of giving entire Satisfaction to his People; a Point of great Conſequence which no Prince ought to neglect. We may poſſibly be ſurprized to ſee ſtricter Precautions taken for the right Application of ſuch an inconſiderable Sum as 270,000 *l.* than have been taken in our Times in the diſpoſing of 200 Millions; but were our wiſe

Anceſtors to look out of their Graves and ſee our preſent Conduct and implicite Confidence, they would be infinitely more amazed, and would cloſe their Eyes again with Indignation, at the Stupidity or Tameneſs of their Deſcendents, who make no better Uſe of their Example.

K. *James* dying after a Reign of 22 Years, in which beſides the Tonnage and Poundage, which Sir *Edward Coke* (*Inſt.* vol. 4. *p.* 33.) tells us was farmed in his Time at 160,000 *l.* a Year; all the Aids he received from his Subjects amounted at moſt to 830000 *l.* which at a Medium of 22 Years, is leſs than 40000 *l.* a Year; ſo frugal and ſparing in thoſe Days were Parliaments in giving the People's Money. The Aids granted in the laſt of King *James*, far from providing an Army of 30000 Men for a War to recover the *Palatinate*, of which the Nation ſeem'd univerſally deſirous, hardly ſufficed for ſending *Mansfield* with 12000 Men on that Expedition; ſo that no Proviſion being made for the Payment of the great Sums which his Father had ſpent for the Public Service in the Affair of the *Palatinate*, King *Charles* I. found himſelf at his coming to the Crown, involved * in a Debt of 12,000 *l.* to the City of *London*; 40,000 *l.* to the Wardrobe; 150,000 *l.* to *Denmark*, and on the *Palatine's* Account; 20,000 *l.* to *Mansfield*; and 20,000 *l.* to the Navy, which was ſtill ſo out of Repairs, and in want of Stores, that it required 300,000 *l.* more to put it in a good Condition: He had likewiſe been at 42,000 *l.* Expence in his Father's Funeral. This was laid by the Lord-Treaſurer before the firſt Parliament in this Reign; to which the King repreſented likewiſe the Engagements he was under to his Allies, with Regard to the *Palatinate*, and the War he was embarked in with *Spain*, in Conſequence of the Advice given

* *Ruſhworth*'s Collections, Vol. I. *p.* 179.

the

the late King by a former Parliament. All that his Majesty could obtain, was an Aid of two Subsidies or 140,000 *l.* too scanty a Supply for the War alone, much less could it suffice for the Discharge of a Debt of 392,000 *l.* and for putting the Fleet into a proper Condition to do Honour and Service to the Kingdom. The King, however, struggling with his Difficulties as well as he could, fitted out a Fleet with a Body of 7000 Land Forces on Board to attack *Cadiz*, but the Attempt miscarried. Two others were fitted out afterwards for the Assistance of the *Hugonots* in *France*, and the Relief of *Rochelle*; and towards the Expences of these Expeditions, and others in which he was involved on the *Palatine*'s Account, he had from the Parliament in his fourth Year a Grant of five Subsidies, which in the Collection fell very much short of the 350,000 *l.* which they should have raised.

The King had found his Parliaments disposed, not so much to relieve as to make Advantage of his Necessities, and was forced to have Recourse to other Methods for raising Money to support the Charges of the Government, protect the Commerce, and provide for the common Good and Interest of the Nation. He resolved to make use of none that were contrary to any Law in being, particularly to the Statute *de Tallagio non concedendo.* It could not be pretended that Compositions for Knighthood were, because they had been confirmed by an express Law in 1 *Edw.* II. two Years after the passing of that Statute; and were a Consequence of the Obligations which his own *Tenants in Capite* for none else were affected by them) lay under to him, by Virtue of their Tenures. His Judges likewise assured him that Writs for levying Money upon Towns and Counties for the Sea-Service, having been continued as constantly in Use after that Statute as before, could not possibly be con-

ceived to be within its Meaning: And thereupon ſuch Writs were iſſued out, for the levying of it for four Years, at the Rate of 200,000 *l.* a Year. If the right Application of the Money ariſing from a Tax, or a juſt Equality in levying and diſtributing the Charge, could reconcile People to the Payment of an unuſual Aſſeſſment; theſe Motives might well have been urged in this Caſe. For all the Money ariſing from it was paid into the Hands of the Treaſurer of the Navy, and employed for the Honour of the Nation; the Dominion of the Sea; the Security of the Commerce, and ſtrengthening the Fleet of *England*. The Parliament too after the Reſtoration, when they had by a ſpecial Committee examined into all the Ways of raiſing Land-Taxes, as well in the Times of former Kings, as of the late Parliamentary Uſurpations, in order to fix the moſt equal Way of raiſing Subſidies upon all the Counties of this Realm, found none ſo equal as that which was ſettled by the Writs of Ship-Money, and therefore made it the Model or Rule, by which they went in aſſeſſing their Land-Tax of 70,000 *l.* a Month, as Dr. *Davenant* obſerves, in his *Eſſay on Ways and Means*, p. 72. The whole Amount of Ship-Money for four Years being 800,000 *l.* and that of the ſeven Subſidies before-mentioned computed at 490,000 *l.* it appears that in the firſt 15 Years and an half of King *Charles*'s Reign (before the meeting of the fatal Parliament of *November* 1640,) all the Money raiſed out of the Kingdom in general, for the Service of the Crown was 1,290,000 *l.* *i. e.* about 86,000 *l.* a-Year.

I know very well that the Writs of Ship-Money are exclaimed againſt, as an inſupportable Grievance, for raiſing Money without Authority of Parliament; and the *By-Stander* probably knows full as well, that Money is ſo raiſed in our Days by leſs Perſons than Kings, by Commiſſioners of the Treaſury,

ſury, &c. without any ſuch Clamor. Lord *Coke* (*Inſt.* II. *p.* 533.) in his Comment on Statute *de Tallagio Concedendo*, ſays, " That it comprehends " all new Offices erected with new Fees, or old " Offices with new Fees, for that is a Tallage put " on the Subject which cannot be done without " common Aſſent by Act of Parliament. This " appears (ſays he) by a Petition of the Commons " (*Rot. Parl.* 13 Hen. IV. *n.* 43.) complaining, " that an Office was created for the meaſuring of " Cloths and Canvas, with a new Fee for the ſame " by colour of the King's Letters Patent, and " pray that the Patent be revoked; for the King " could erect no Offices with new Fees to be taken " of the People, who may not be ſo charged but " by Parliament. *Henry* IV. promiſed to obſerve " the Statute, and the Patent was adjudged ille- " gal." Sir *Edward Coke* goes on to cite a like Complaint in Parliament againſt another new Office, erected in the Time of *Edw.* III. and attended with the like Effect; and on this Occaſion cites the *Parliament Roll*, 22 *Edw.* III. *n.* 31. a Time when Writs of Ship-Money were iſſued out in greater Numbers, and more conſtantly than was ever known in any other Reign, and this without any Complaint from Parliament, or from any other Quarter, of its being a Breach of that Statute. Times are certainly much changed when King *Charles* could not, without raiſing a Flame in the Nation, do an Act which had been practiſed for Ages without being deemed ſo; and Miniſters can now a-Days do what is undeniably contrary to the Statute, can raiſe Money without Conſent of Parliament, by creating new Offices for the Benefit of their Relations and Creatures, with Impunity, and without the leaſt Clamour or Cenſure.

Whatever the Caſe was, as to the Way of raiſing Money in King *Charles*'s Reign, my Point is only

to consider the Sums raised for his Service, in order to see whether *his Power of Money*, bore any Proportion to that which has of late Years been vested in the Crown. Far from doing so, it is too well known that he was under great Necessities from the beginning to the end of his Reign; and these Necessities proved his Ruin. The Power of Money lay in the Hands of his Enemies, and made them Masters of the Kingdom, which they plundered, and harrassed for eighteen Years together by Sequestrations, Compositions, Sales of Crown and Church-Lands, Contributions, Excises, Subsidies, Assessments, and Taxes of various kinds, raising in that short space of Time upon the Nation, to the Amount (as it is generally computed) of Ninety-five Million, Five Hundred and Twelve Thousand, Ninety-five Pounds, Five Shillings and Elevenpence Half-penny; a Sum above five Times greater than had been raised by all the Kings of *England* in above 570 Years, from the Conquest till those Times of Usurpation.

I now come to the Reign of King *Charles* II. whose Revenue after the Restoration, the *By-Stander* (*page* 60, and the following Pages) is fond of comparing with the Civil List settled since the Revolution; and takes care to represent the former as much larger than the other, by the unfairest Calculations that were perhaps ever offered to impose on Mankind; but of which possibly he may have acquired an Habit, which generally takes away all Remorse, and even Sense of the Iniquity of a Practice.

He begins his Calculation with an Account of the Sums granted by Parliament, from *May* 29, to *December* 29, 1660; which he states thus, *viz.*

1. Act

	l.	s.	d.
1. Act of Three Months Assessment from *June* 24, 1660.	210,000	0	0
2. Act of Tonage and Poundage, from *July* 24, to *Dec.* 25, 1660, Five Months	140,000	0	0
3. Two Acts for continuing Excise to *Christmas* 1660, for Seven Months.	200,000	0	0
4. Pole-Tax, and 2 *s.* in the Pound on Estates, for disbanding the Forces.	1,000,000	0	0
5. Act for raising 70,000 *l.* for a Month, commencing *Sept.* 29, 1660.	70,000	0	0
6. Act for Two Months Assessment, commencing *Nov.* 1, 1660.	140,000	0	0
7. Act for Arrears of 12 and 6 Months Assessment, ending *June* 24, 1660.	300,000	0	0
8. Act for Six Months Assessment, for disbanding the Army and paying the Navy.	420,000	0	0
9. Act for a Months Assessment, to commence *July* 1, 1660.	70,000	0	0
10. Small Branches computed by Sir *W. Petty*, at 130,000 *l.* a-Year.	130,000	0	0
Total	2,680,000	0	0

His Accompts of Disbursements is very general, because it would not have answered his Purpose to have entered into Particulars; and yet he cannot huddle up even this loose general Accompt, without

but exerting his usual Talent of Misrepresentation; for he says (*page* 64.) that after the Grant of the Poll-Tax, the Sum of 140,000*l.* was deemed sufficient for the *compleat* disbanding the *whole* Army, and paying the Navy. See here, O Reader! if thou canst without Indignation, a true Specimen of the *By-Stander*'s unparallell'd Assurance and natural Veracity! He had the very Titles of the Acts, to which he refers thee, before him, when he scored the Words *compleat* and *whole*, to have them distinguished by *Italic* Characters; and yet has expressed himself so as to deceive thee into a Belief that the *whole* Fleet was to be paid off likewise: Whereas the Title of that Act (12 *Car.* II. *c.* 20.) after the Words *whole Army*, adds, *and paying Part* of the Navy. The Parliament knew very well that Sum would go but a very little way, towards paying off the whole Debt of the Navy, and therefore proposed only the paying of a *Part* thereof; but had not the *By-Stander* represented the Case otherwise, he must in his next Year's Calculation, have inserted among the Disbursements, an Article for paying off the Remainder of the Navy, which he hath knowingly omitted, and hoped to cover by so wretched an Artifice.

His Motive for prevaricating in this Point is evident enough; but I can't easily imagine why he should pretend in the last Part of the same Paragraph, that the *Crown afterwards demanded*, and obtained 420,000*l.* more for discharging the *Remainder* of the Forces; when the House of Commons had taken that Affair into their Consideration before the King had left *Holland*, and carried it on after he came to *England*, without any Interposition of his, by Speech, Message or otherwise; nor did any of his Officers deliver any Estimates in the Modern Way to the House; but all was transacted by the Parliament alone, and by special Committees appointed

pointed to make the neceſſary Enquiries. This is a Circumſtance of ſo little Conſequence to the *By-Stander*'s Calculations, that did not an inveterate Habit draw him irreſiſtably into ſuch Miſrepreſentations of Facts, he might have waved the Exerciſe of his Talent in this Inſtance.

It may not be amiſs to ſtate this Matter of diſbanding the Army, as it appears in the Journals of that Houſe of Commons. They had paſſed the Bill for diſbanding the Army, when the Lords in a Conference on *Sept.* 7, 1660, ſent the Houſe of Commons ſome Obſervations thereon, *viz.* "That "the Bill provided only for diſbanding the Army: "Whereas the Poll-Bill was not only for it, but for "diſburthening the Kingdom of the great Debt of "the Navy, the Charge of which was 40,000 *l.* "a Month, a Charge which the King found here: "For the Navy was not of his ſetting forth, and "25 Ships lay uſeleſs in Harbour at the Charge of "15,000 *l.* a Month, which Charge would be cut "off by about 120,000 *l.* That there was but a "Fortnights Pay provided for Support of the Ar-"my 'till diſbanded, and no Proviſion made, in "caſe it was not diſbanded within that Time; "that there were two Hoſpitals full of maimed "Soldiers, and no Care taken for their Diſcharge; "that ſome Care ſhould be taken for *Ireland* to diſ-"band part of the Army there, and a conſtant "Charge ſettled for the Payment of the reſt that "was to be kept up for the Defence of that King-"dom; and that the former Poll-Bill had fallen "ſhort of what was expected, and this might do "ſo too.

"* The next Day after this Meſſage from the "Lords, the Commons reſolved, that a fourth "part of the Money from the Poll-Bill ſhould be "applied towards paying the 25 Ships in Harbour;

* *Sept.* 8.

" and ordered a Bill to be brought in for an Aſſeſſ-
" ment of two Months, to raiſe 140,000 *l.* to com-
" pleat the diſbanding of the Army, and the Reſi-
" due to pay part of the Fleet in Harbour, and to
" no other Uſe"; which paſſed, before the Houſe adjourned on *Sept.* 13. to *Nov.* 6, 1660. The Commiſſioners appointed to diſband the Army, did all that was poſſible to be done with the Supplies then granted, in the Execution of their Commiſſion during the Receſs; And the very Day * of the next Meeting of the Houſe, Sir *W. Doyley* made a Report from the Commiſſioners, " declaring what
" Forces they had paid off, what Sums had been
" paid to every particular Garriſon, Regiment,
" Troop and Company, and for the diſcharging of
" Ships, as alſo what Forces were not paid off, with
" an Eſtimate of what Money was ſtill neceſſary
" to pay off the Land Forces to *Nov.* 6. and the
" Ships to *Sept.* 17, laſt paſt, and what Money
" certain and caſual the Parliament had conſigned
" to thoſe Uſes, with the Ballance between the
" Charge and the Monies conſigned.

" They had diſbanded 23 Garriſons, 15 Regi-
" ments of Foot, and 5 of Horſe, and 6 of the
" Ships lying uſeleſs at Wages in Harbour.

" There ſtill remained on Foot of Forces that
" were to be diſbanded,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
" In *England*, 11 Garriſons, 3 Regiments of Foot, and 9 of Horſe, beſides the Life-guard and 19 Ships, to which was due	369834	15	10
" In *Scotland*, 4 Regiments of Foot, one of Horſe, and General *Morgan*'s Troop	75,681	16	4

" The Money appointed by Parliament to pay
" off the Land and Sea Forces was, *viz.*

* *Nov.* 6.

Aſ-

	l.	s.	d.
" Aſſignations on 3 Months Aſ- " ſeſſment from *June* 24, 1660,	23,000	0	0
" *Ditto* to the Amount of	40,000	0	0
" Poll-Bill eſtimated at	210,000	0	0
" The 2 Months Aſſeſſment	140,000	0	0
Total	413,000	0	0
" The Sum paid, and the Charge " of Forces to be diſbanded, a- " mounting together to	685,819	8	9¼
" There wants to anſwer it	272,819	8	9¼
" Beſides other Sums from caſual and uncertain Charges	150,000	0	0
" So the Money to be ordered on " a clear Ballance is	422,819	8	9¼
" The monthly Charge by Sea " and Land of the undiſbanded " Forces is	32,653	12	0

This monthly Charge was too heavy to be ſuffered to continue on the Nation; yet the Houſe of Commons, before they would remove it, by making a ſufficient Proviſion for paying off the Forces, reſolved to wait the Report of a ſpecial Committee, which they had appointed to examine the Debts of the Navy and Army.

This Report was made on *Nov.* 12. by Sir *Tho. Clarges*, and repreſented, " That the Sum of 678,000 *l.* " was neceſſary to diſcharge what was due to the Navy " to *Nov.* 10. beſides the 25 Ships which were un- " der the Conſideration of the Houſe, and beſides " likewiſe the Ships that his Majeſty receives into " Pay, amounting to 248,049 *l.* 8 *s.* that after " computing what the Poll-Bill and the monthly " Aſſeſſments would bring in, there would ſtill be " wanting

" wanting to diſband the reſt of the Army, and " ſuch of the Ships as were not yet diſcharged, " the Sum of 422,819 *l.* and that the Commiſſion- " ers of the Navy had alſo repreſented, that all the " Stores were empty both of Victuals and Neceſſa- " ries for the Fleet, and the renewing them would " coſt 200,000 *l.* and (without comprehending the " Ships to be kept in pay by his Majeſty) the other " three Services required in the whole 1,300819 *l.* " 8 *s.* and of this Sum there was immediately want- " ed for the paying of Officers and Mariners, and " for diſbanding the Army 670,868 *l.* 8 *s.*"

On *Nov.* 23. Sir *W. Doyley* made another Report from the Commiſſioners for diſbanding the Army, giving an Account of their having paid off and diſbanded ſince his laſt Report, one Ship, ſix Regiments in *England*, and three Troops of Lord *Falkland*'s Horſe in *Scotland*; and they had not been able to diſband more for want of Money, *viz.* 269,480 *l.* 1 *s.* and for caſual Charges 150,000 *l.* in all 419,480 *l.* 1 *s.* He had in his former Report of *Nov.* 6. given an Account of 73,185 *l.* 4 *s.* 1 *d.* which had been paid into the Chamber of *London* on the Poll-Bill; and he now gave in a particular of Money received on the ſame Bill, (which was found defective) from the Nobility, Members of the Houſe of Commons, Aldermen, and Companies of *London*, Officers of the Courts of Law, and from the ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, amounting to 99,578 *l.* 4 *s.* 5 *d.* all which the Commiſſioners had paid away; and as to the reſt of the Money of that Tax ariſing from the Counties, it had been aſſigned by them for diſbanding the Regiments of Horſe and Foot quartered therein, and (as the Commiſſioners were informed) it was all in Effect paid and iſſued for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, *except ſome ſmall Sums that are inconſiderable.*

The

The Commiſſioners, to haſten the diſbanding, had borrowed Money upon the two Months Aſſeſſment for 140,000 *l.* of which Loan they had accompted for 24,445 *l.* 4 *s.* in the Report of *Nov.* 6. and in this of the 23d it appears, that they had given Bills for 32,197 *l.* 2 *s.* 9 *d.* more; as it does in a following Report of Sir *W. Doyley*'s on *Dec.* 8. that they had borrowed alſo 37,765 *l.* 10 *s.* of the City of *London*, upon the Credit of the ſaid Aſſeſſment. Thus was all the Poll-Bill, and the greateſt part of the two Months Aſſeſſment employed, and the Remainder of this laſt Tax was on *Nov.* 23. immediately after the abovementioned Report, ordered by a Vote of the Houſe, to be applied to pay off the particular Regiments named and quartered in ſeveral Counties.

The Nation's Charge was increaſing by every Delay, as well in paying off the 24 Ships ſtill left in Harbour at Wages, tho' uſeleſs, (which coſt 16,000 *l.* a Month, as Mr. *Hollins* had reported on *Aug.* 2.) as in diſbanding the Army, to which, by Sir *W. Doyley*'s laſt Report of *Dec.* 3. there was ſtill due an Arrear of 287,624 *l.* 17 *s.* beſides,

8000 *l.* claimed by Officers and Soldiers not formerly ſtated.

9000 *l.* to make good the Warrants of the Commiſſioners of the Army on the Exciſe and Aſſeſſments.

5244 *l.* 19 *s.* part of 8000 *l.* allowed to reimburſe the Army's March from *Scotland.*

4500 *l.* allowed for the Charges of Auditors Clerks, Treaſurers, *&c.* and 1100 *l.* a Day for pay to the Forces by Sea and Land ſtill undiſcharged, and what his Majeſty pays for Victuals to the Seamen.

To ſupply which, the Commiſſioners ſaw nothing but the Arrears of the 12 Months Aſſeſſment, commencing *June* 24, 1659. and of that of 6 Months

commencing *Dec.* 25, 1659; and the inconſiderable Arrears of the defective Poll-Bill.

The Commons hereupon brought in and paſſed the Act, (which makes the 7th Article of the *By-Stander's* Accompt of the Money granted this Year,) for levying the Arrears of the 12 and 6 Months Aſſeſſments, (the immediate Payment of which, in order to prevent the Soldiers living at free Quarters, they had preſſed by former Orders on *May* 17, and by a Royal Proclamation at their Inſtance on *Sept.* 7; ſo that conſidering how readily Monies were generally raiſed at that Time, theſe Arrears cannot well be ſuppoſed to amount to the third part of Mr. *Coke's* Computation,) and another Act for raiſing 420,000 *l.* by a 6 Months Aſſeſſment, to commence from *Jan.* 1, 1660; to which they added another Month's Aſſeſſment of 70,000 *l.* for a further Supply, which probably was deſigned to make good the Deficiencies of the former Acts, ariſing either from the Intereſt to be paid for Money advanced thereon, or from the Charges of collecting them; and to provide likewiſe for the further Pay of the Ships and Army 'till the Time they were actually diſcharged. And whoever conſiders, that by Sir *W. Doyley's* Report of *Nov.* 6. there was on *Sept.* 17. an Arrear due to the 19 Ships to be paid off, of 138,132 *l.* 10 *s.* that 2 Months Pay and a half to *Dec.* 1. amounted at leaſt to 25,000 *l.* more; that according to the Report of *Dec.* 3. there was a growing Charge for the Ships and Forces undiſbanded of 1100 *l.* a Day, and that there were 68 Days between *Dec.* 1. and *Feb.* 14. when the diſbanding (as the *By-Stander* ſays, *p.* 64.) was finally compleated, will think this additional 70,000 *l.* but a ſcanty Proviſion for thoſe Purpoſes.

To form a right Notion of what the *By-Stander*, *p.* 65. calls *the profuſe Liberality* of this Parliament *to the Crown*, it will be proper to examine in what manner

manner they proceeded in making a Proviſion for the King's Revenue. Their firſt Step on that Subject was on *May* 3. when they ordered a Bill to be brought in for taking away Tenures *in Capite*, and the Court of Wards; which was ſtripping the Crown of the moſt influencing part of its Power, as well as of the moſt conſiderable Branch of its Revenue. They propoſed indeed to ſettle on it inſtead thereof, another Fund to the Value of 100,000 *l.* a Year, of which the Committee appointed to bring in the Bill were to conſider. They did this in Breach of their ordinary Rules, and without any previous Committee for inquiring into the real Value of that Branch of Revenue, which they were taking away. They might have known that a Parliament in the middle of the Reign of K. *James* I. had offered that Prince 200,000 *l.* a Year in lieu of the ſame Revenue, and it was not thought an Equivalent; they knew that in the moſt deſperate Situation of the Affairs and Perſon of King *Charles* I. the Rump Parliament offered him 100,000 *l.* a Year for it at the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*, and would have given him 200,000 *l.* a Year, rather than have broke off upon that Article; but having the making of the Bargain entirely to themſelves, they took Care to do it to their own Advantage, and that of their Conſtituents; leſs ſcrupulous or leſs generous in this Point, than Parliaments have ſince been in other Caſes of leſs Importance, when in a bare Apprehenſion of the Crown Revenue being diminiſhed by a ſalutary Act, they would not take the proper Meaſures for ſaving People's Lives, 'till they had provided no leſs a Sum than 70,000 *l.* a Year, by way of Compenſation for a Loſs which the Crown might poſſibly ſuffer.

The part which King *Charles* acted with regard to his own undoubted Rights, was very different from that of the Parliament, and might with ſome

Colour of Reaſon be cenſured as a *profuſe Liberality* in the Crown. For when the Act *of general Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion* had paſſed the Commons, and was ſent to the upper Houſe, the Lords taking Notice of the 5th Clauſe, "in which all Perſons are diſcharged againſt the King and his "Heirs of all *Sums of Money*, Intruſions, mean "Profits, Wardſhips, Marriages, Reliefs, Liveries, "*Ouſter le Mains*, mean Rates, Reſpites of Homage, "Fines and Seizures for Alienations without Licenſe, "Arrearages of Rents, of Tenths and firſt Fruits, "*&c.*" and knowing how many Millions were in the Space of 18 or 19 Years laſt paſt due to the King on theſe Accounts, could not paſs it without firſt applying to his Majeſty, to know whether he conſented to the Clauſe. The King ſent his Anſwer to the Lords in Writing, which being by them communicated to the Commons, is entered in the Journal of their Houſe on *July* 31, to this Effect.

"His Majeſty is very well informed in theſe Con"ceſſions which are to paſs in the Act of Indemnity: "He knows very well that the Arrears of the "Wards, the Licenſes of Alienation, and Aliena"tions without Licenſe, Purveyance, Reſpite of "Homage, the Arrears of Rent, ſtill in the Hands "of the Tenants, and the other Particulars, a"mount to a great and vaſt Sum, all which are re"leaſed and diſcharged by this Act: But his Ma"jeſty is ſo well ſatisfied of the good Affection of "the Houſe of Commons, and of their Intentions "and Reſolution to ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon his "Majeſty, as may preſerve the Crown from Want, "and from being undervalued by his Neighbours, "that he is reſolved not to inſiſt upon the Particu"lars which the Houſe of Commons have deſired "his Majeſty ſhould releaſe." The Arrears of theſe and other Parts of his Revenue given up in that Act, amounted in the Courſe of ſo many Years, (according

ing to the Eſtimate made of King *Charles* I's Revenue, which deſcended to his Son, in Sir *Heneage Finch*'s Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into it by this Parliament, as it appears on the Journal of *Sept.* 4.) to above twelve Millions Sterling; an immenſe Sum, which few Princes but King *Charles* II. would ſacrifice for the Eaſe and Satisfaction of their People.

The Commons upon this Meſſage, appointed a Committee to conſider of ſuch a Revenue as might maintain the Grandeur of the Crown; and on *Sept.* 4. reſolved that it ſhould be made up 1,200,000 *l.* a Year, and that Bills ſhould be brought in for eſtabliſhing of a Poſt-Office, for Wine Licences, and to prevent any Alienation of the Crown Lands for a longer Term than 3 Lives or 21 Years. They had already paſſed the Act for Tonage and Poundage, and on *Nov.* 21. having reſolved to ſettle a Moiety of the hereditary Exciſe on the King in lieu of Tenures and the Court of Wards, it was moved that the other Moiety ſhould be towards the 1,200,000 *l.* a Year; but the Motion was rejected. The Houſe however thought better of it ſix Days after, on *Nov.* 27. and then agreed that it ſhould be ſo applied. A Bill was brought in accordingly, and conſolidated with the Act for aboliſhing the Court of Wards and Tenures *in Capite*; but when they had referred it to a Committee to conſider, what Satisfaction ſhould be made to the Patent Officers in that Court for the Loſs of their Employments, and a Report had on *Dec.* 21. been made of the particular Sums proper to be given them for that Purpoſe, ſcarce any amounting to more than one Years Value of the Employment, tho' they amounted in all to 26,850 *l.* the Houſe made no Proviſion in the Caſe; but left upon the King the Burden of making them a Recompence.

The Commons had before, by various Votes, charged different Branches of the Revenue, chiefly the Exciſe and monthly Aſſeſſments, with Sums of Money to be paid to divers Perſons, to the Amount of 387,269 *l.* 10 *s.* a Liſt of which is in the Appendix, N°. 2. but on *Dec.* 29, the laſt Day of the Seſſion, they took particular Care of their old Friends, by paſſing Votes in favour of Aſſignments, many of which ſeemed to be antiquated, particularly of Debts charged by Parliament on the Exciſe before *Dec.* 7, 1648, 35,110 *l.* 19 *s.* 6 *d.* and a great many others charged on the ſame Revenue, and yet unſatisfied;

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
As alſo to the diſtreſſed Proteſtants of *Piedmont*	75,010	13	5½
Aſſignments on the *Exchequer* between *A. D.* 1653, and *March* 1, 1660	477,151	10	0

Theſe they reſolved ſhould be paid with all convenient Speed, tho' they thought fit to ſuſpend for a Time others which had been between 1652, and *Feb.* 13, 16$\frac{12}{60}$, to the Amount of 95,000 *l.*

The ſame Day Col. *Birch* made his Report of the Debt of the Navy for Stores and Wages, (for which no Fund had been provided,) to the Sum of 673,720 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* beſides Freight of Ships in 1642, 1643, and 1644, ſtill unpaid. Theſe either Incumbrances on the Revenue, or Debts utterly unprovided for, amounting to 1,743,263 *l.* 1 *s.* 8½, were left upon a King in want of every Thing, juſt come from Exile, and from giving a general Releaſe of all that was due to him, to ſtruggle with as well as he could; beſides what has been already mentioned (in Sir *F. Clarges*'s Report to the Houſe on *Nov.* 12.) of the Emptineſs of the Stores, both as to Victuals and Neceſſaries for the Fleet;

Fleet; ſo that the renewing of them, would coſt the Sum of 200,000 *l.* and what the Lords took Notice of in their Conference with the Commons on *Sept.* 7. *viz.* the Neceſſity of paying off and diſbanding a great part of the Army in *Ireland*, and taking care to defray the Charge of ſubſiſting and paying the Standing Force that was to be kept up for the Defence of that Kingdom; for which no Proviſion was made, nor any Fund aſſigned by this Parliament. Such was its *profuſe Liberality to the Crown*, of which the *By-Stander* makes ſo heavy a Complaint; not conſidering that it was compoſed chiefly of Preſbyterians, for whom he ſeems to have a tender Regard.

The Act for diſſolving the Rump Parliament and calling another to meet in *April* 25, 1660, had provided, that no Perſon who had ever been in Arms againſt the *Parliament* ſince 1641, or his Son, ſhould be capable of being choſen for this new, and as they were fond of ſtiling it, Free Parliament. By this Means the Cavaliers were generally excluded, and tho' ſome were elected notwithſtanding this Diſqualification, they were yet much fewer in number than the old Preſbyterians, who had taken up Arms againſt his late Majeſty, tho' ſeeing no End of the Oppreſſions, Calamities, and Confuſions of the Kingdom under the various Uſurpations of thoſe Times, they were diſpoſed to ſupport *Monk* in his Meaſures for reſtoring King *Charles* II. They were however for doing it by a Treaty and upon Terms, probably ſuch as they would have impoſed on his Father at the Iſle of *Wight*; and Sir *Matthew Hale* was perſuaded by them to move in the Houſe, that they ſhould conſider the Terms upon which it was proper to reſtore his Majeſty. The General ſtopped the Motion by his Firmneſs, and telling them in plain Terms, that he would not anſwer for the Army, if they proceeded in the ſlow Way of a Treaty, which would

would be attended with numberleſs Difficulties, give the Regicide Party Time and Means to embarraſs the Affair, and be ſuch an Encouragement to them at the ſame Time, that it diſpirited others who wiſhed well to their Country, that the Event would be doubtful, and perhaps fatal to the Conſtitution.

The Preſbyterian Party had ever had it in their View to reduce the Kingly Power; it was their darling Paſſion; and tho' they had miſcarried in their Motion, reſolved to purſue their Point by other Meaſures: And it was from their Obſtinacy on this Head, that aroſe in a manner all the Difficulties which General *Monk* had to ſtruggle with, after he came to *London*, in effecting the King's Reſtoration; as the late Lord *Lanſdown* (from whom I derive this Relation) frequently heard explained by his Father Sir *Bernard Grenville*, and his Uncle the Earl of *Bath*, in their Converſations upon this Subject. They tried again, by the Deputies which they ſent over to the King in *Holland*, to engage him to ſubmit to the Reſtrictions and Conceſſions, with which they were deſirous to fetter him and clog the royal Authority; and perhaps would have ſucceeded, had not the General come to a Knowledge of their Inſtructions and Views, and ſent Sir *Bernard Grenville* over in the ſame Ship with the Deputies, with the ſtricteſt Orders to get before them to his Majeſty, and prepare him for their Reception, by a full Diſcovery of their Deſigns, and proper Anſwers to be given to the ſeveral Articles of their Deſires.

'Twas in Purſuance of this Plan, and for the gratifying of this Paſſion, that the Party, the very Day after they had proclaimed the King, ordered a Bill to be brought in for aboliſhing the Court of Wards; and had read it twice, and committed it before the King came to *London*; though it lay by afterwards till they had agreed upon another Fund by

by way of Compenſation for it, in the Point of Revenue; for in Point of Power they never propoſed to give any Equivalent, being fond of every Occaſion to leſſen that of the Crown. They could not do it in any Inſtance more acceptably to the Gentry of the Kingdom, if not more conſiderably in Reſpect of Royalty. For the King, in Virtue of his Tenures *in Capite*, had a vaſt Intereſt in every County by his Premier Seiſins, Enjoyment of all Eſtates during a Minority, Wardſhips of the Perſons and Lands of Minors, *&c.* He did not indeed make half, or perhaps, a third of the Profit he might have done by ſuch Minorities; becauſe he generally gave away, to great Men whom he had a mind to oblige, and to faithful Servants whom he wanted to reward, the moſt profitable of theſe Wardſhips; but by Means thereof, he had it continually in his Power to reſtore a decayed, and to raiſe a new Family, to recompence every Subject anſwerably to his Merit and Services, and to make the Fortune of an infinite Number of Perſons. He had likewiſe the Education of all Minors, which afforded an Opportunity of correcting the ill Principles of ſome Families, and drawing off others from the Errors of Popery; ſo that probably we ſhould not have had a *Roman Catholick* of a noble Family left in *England* by this Time, had this Power ſtill remained in the Crown. It was a Power the moſt deſirable of any to a Prince, becauſe it enabled him to make vaſt Numbers of People happy, and to encourage Virtue, Merit and Services by adequate Rewards: No-body knew better how to diſtinguiſh Merit, nor was more deſirous to reward it than King *Charles*; he well knew the Value and Importance of this Power, and had more Occaſion to keep it in his Hands, than any King of *England* ever had before, yet to quiet the Minds of the People, and to oblige the Kingdom in general without obliging

any one Man in particular; he gave it up in Compliance with the demand of a Parliament, at a Time when it would have enabled him to have provided for an infinite Number of Perſons and Families, who had ſerved or ſuffered for him or his Father at Home, or had followed his Fortune Abroad.

To diſable him from doing ſo, was probably one of the Motives, why thoſe who govern'd in this Parliament, were ſo eager for ſtripping the King of this Power; in Hopes that a needy Set of Men, who had long laboured under Oppreſſion, been ſequeſtred, plundered, forfeited, and perhaps baniſhed for their Loyalty, might be tempted, in a recent Senſe of their Sufferings, and a full one of their Merits, under all the Preſſure of their Indigence and ſudden Diſappointment of their Hopes, to clamor againſt the Neglect and Ingratitude of Princes, and grow in Time as diſaffected to Monarchy as they were themſelves. This at leaſt was their Meaning in the Addreſs to the King, the very Day that they firſt came to a Reſolution of ſettling the Revenue at 1,200,000 *l.* a-Year; which was five Weeks after his Majeſty's gracious Meſſage of releaſing all the Arrears due to him for his Rents, or on Account of his Tenures, and preſſing the Lords to paſs the Act of Indemnity. Though the King had thus releaſed all the Arrears, yet he might ſtill diſpoſe of the Wardſhips, and other Profits ariſing from his Tenures, within the preſent Year, for the Benefit of his ſuffering Friends, the Cavaliers; and the rather, becauſe the Revenue propoſed in lieu of the Court of Wards was not yet granted, nor was intended to take Place 'till the End of the Year. There was no Juſtice in debarring the King from the Benefit of an old Revenue, till they had given an Equivalent; there was no interpoſing in the Caſe with any tolerable Decency,

'till

'till they had done ſomething for his Majeſty; but they took Care to ſeize the firſt Moment that was favourable for their Application. The Bill about the Court of Wards had lain by ſince the King's Arrival, 'till they had ſettled an Equivalent; which indeed was not done 'till the Month of *December*, a little before *Chriſtmas:* And they had deferred coming to a Reſolution about the Revenue of the Crown 'till *September* 4; but then having paſſed a Vote for 1,200,000 *l.* a-Year, they immediately addreſſed his Majeſty, *Not to grant or make uſe of his Tenures, 'till they had ſettled a conſtant Revenue*, &c.

The Funds which they ſettled for that Revenue, fell 300,000 *l.* a-Year ſhort of what they had voted, as appeared upon Examination in the next Parliament; and were afterwards found ſtill more defective, than they were even then computed to be. This Deficiency, the utter Neglect of providing either for diſbanding or ſubſiſting the Army in *Ireland*, the eſtabliſhing ſuch a Burthen of old Debts, as were warranted by the Votes of this Parliament, the laſt Day of their ſitting, and leaving the King under the heavy Load of Two Millions of Debt and Charges, without any Means to pay and defray them, however it might flatter the Paſſions, or ſuit the Views of thoſe who were at the Head of Affairs in this Parliament, was very inconvenient for the Kingdom.

They had given nothing new towards the 1,200,000 *l.* a-Year, but the hereditary Exciſe, the Poſt-Office, and the Wine-Licences, and theſe did not paſs 'till juſt before *Chriſtmas*; ſo that the King not having wherewith to ſubſiſt his Houſhold, or carry on the Affairs of Government, for the firſt Year of his Reſtoration, was neceſſitated to borrow Money, and run into Debt, to provide what was neceſſary on both thoſe Accounts, agreeable to what Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* ſaid in his Speech

to the Parliament, the Day of their meeting at *Oxford*, *Oct.* 9, 1665. "*That his Majesty being* "*returned was forced to support himself a good while* "*upon Credit*, 'till the Armies were disbanded, and "the Fleets paid off: Which Debt was exceeding- "ly heightened by the necessary Supplies of his "Magazines and Stores, which were at that Time "so exhausted, that there were not Arms for 5000 "Men, nor Provisions for the setting out of Ten "new Ships." The Mischief of it was, that the King being, at his very Entrance upon the Government, loaded with such heavy Debts contracted by the usurping Powers before his coming, could never get clear of them afterwards; but was ever labouring under Necessities from this Time to the End of his Reign: And whoever considers with an impartial Mind the false Steps or Mistakes that happened in the Course of it; the Affair of *Dunkirk*, *Chatham*, shutting up the *Exchequer*, &c. will find them to be originally owing to those Necessities, in which he was first left involved by this Parliament.

The *By-Stander*, *page* 65. passes over some Articles, which he mentions in such a manner as to tempt People to imagine them considerable; it may not therefore be improper to observe, that the Present of the Convention, the States (6000 *l.*) and the City of *London* (10000 *l.*) to the King cannot be supposed sufficient to discharge his Quarters, in which he and his Brothers, with their Household, had subsisted for a long Time under very great Difficulties; that the Presents of private Persons at that Time will be found very inconsiderable, and ought not to be charged to the Publick Accompt; and that (as appears from the Journal of the House of Commons, *June* 18, 1661; and *June* 4, 1663;) the forfeited Estates of the Regicides, and excepted Persons, instead of 38,000 *l.* a-Year, at which they were estimated by the Convention, did not produce above

above 5000 *l.* I ſhall add one Remark further, that the Preſents made to the Queen-Mother and her Children bore no manner of Proportion to the 18 Years Arrears of her Jointure of 30,000 *l.* a-Year; and the 50,000 *l.* aſſigned for the repairing of the King's Houſes, was not the Twentieth Part of the Damages he had ſuſtained in the Buildings, (which was all that the Parliament regarded, and only as to thoſe near *London*,) and by the Plunder and Sale of the Furniture thereof. For in the Year 1642, when the Rebellion broke out, King *Charles* had 24 Royal Houſes compleatly furniſhed; ſo that there was no Occaſion, when he removed from one to another, to carry either Goods or Hangings with him (as is practiſed in other Countries): and adorned with the fineſt Pictures, (in which that King had an excellent Taſte and Judgment,) and the richeſt Tapeſtry known in *Europe*; which being pillaged and ſold by the Rebels, beſides a vaſt Quantity that fell into private Hands, now ſerve for Ornament in the Courts of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sweden*. King *Charles* II. never had any Satisfaction given him in this Reſpect; but was left to undergo all the Expence of providing new Furniture; which he was ill able to bear, conſidering the Load upon him, and the neceſſary Expences of the Government.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Theſe Things premiſed, I come to conſider the *By-Stander*'s Calculation for the Year 1660; the Grants whereof he ſtates at	2,680,000	0	0
And the Diſburſements for Public Services, at	1,560,000	0	0
In Order to put the Remainder upon Accompt of the Civil Liſt	1,140,000*	0	0

* It ſhould be 1,120,000.

It has been already proved that the Poll-Bill was not eſtimated by the Parliament at more than 210,000 *l.* and that it proved defective, as is expreſsly ſaid in the Reports on the Journals of *Nov.* 6. and *Dec.* 3. What the Deficiency was, is not ſaid, but allowing for it only 10000 *l.* the Accompt will ſtand thus;

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1. Aſſeſſment of 70,000 *l. per* Month, for Three Months from *June* 24, 1660.	210,000	0	0
2. Tonage and Poundage from *July* 24, 1660.	140,000	0	0
3. Two Acts for continuing the Commonwealth Exciſe to *Chriſtmas* 1660.	200,000	0	0
4. Poll-Tax for diſbanding the Forces.	200,000	0	0
5. Aſſeſſment of 70,000 *l.* for a Month from *September* 29,	70,000	0	0
6. Aſſeſſment for 2 Months.	140,000	0	0
7. Arrears for 12 Months Aſſeſſment of 100,000 *l. per* Month.	300,000	0	0
8. Aſſeſſment for ſix Months, from *Jan.* 1, 1660.	420,000	0	0
9. Aſſeſſment for one Month from *July* 1, 1661.	70,000	0	0
10. Small Branches as he computes them for a whole Year.	130,000	0	0
	1,870,000	0	0
Diſburſed for Public Services	1,560,000	0	0
Remains for Civil Liſt	320,000	0	0

Now upon ſome of theſe Articles there are further Obſervations to be made; as that there was (by a Vote

Vote of *May* 7,) the ſame Appropriation of the Aſſeſſment mentioned in the firſt Article, as had been made of the laſt Aſſeſſment in the Rump-Times; and cannot therefore well be charged to the King's own Account; that the Third Article is much over-charged; becauſe Wines which were rated to the Exciſe till *July* 24, 1660, were by the Act of Tonage and Poundage diſcharged of it from that Day; which in the five Months following probably leſſened at leaſt 50,000 *l.* of the uſual Amount of the Exciſe; that there is no manner of Reaſon to imagine, that the ſmall Branches in the 10th Article, were paid for the whole Year to the King, eſpecially ſince the Act of Indemnity cuts off all Arrears of Rents, Tenths, *&c.* to *June* 24, 1660; and as to the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Articles of Aſſeſſments, it hath been already ſhewn that they were applied to the Payment of the 25 Ships laid up in Harbour, and the diſbanding of the Army; and were ſcarce ſufficient for that Purpoſe. So that the only Articles to be accounted for, being the firſt, ſecond, third, and tenth, which make, according to the *By-Stander*'s Calculation, 680,000 *l.* I have no Occaſion to make any Reduction of his Charge therein, becauſe they are ſo vaſtly diſproportioned to the Public Charge of the Kingdom, that it would not ſuffice for above one or two Articles thereof, had not thoſe Parts of the Revenue been charged by the Houſe of Commons, with the immediate Payment of 387,269 *l.* 10 *s.* the Particulars of which may be ſeen in the Appendix.

In the Obſervations of the Lords, communicated to the Commons on *Sept.* 7. it is ſaid, that the Charge of the Navy was 40,000 *l.* a Month, of which 15,000 *l.* went to thoſe 25 Ships which were paid off at the End of this Year; the other 25,000 *l.* a Month for the Ships ſtill kept up, will for 8 Months

of

of the 13, from *May*, when they were firſt employed for the King's Service, to the End of the Year, amount to 200,000 *l.* and the Gariſon of *Dunkirk*, conſiſting of a Regiment of Horſe of 490 Men, and of 3600 Foot, at 8 Stivers a Day *per* Man, (7 Stivers and a half being 8 *d. Engliſh*, as I find by the Commons Journal *Aug.* 25.) muſt for their Pay, their Ammunition, Ordnance, *&c.* come to above 100,000 *l.* a Year, which I think proper to charge for the whole Year, becauſe I ſee by the Journals of the Commons, that the Orders of the Council of State (charged with the executive Power of the Government from *February* 'till the King's Reſtoration) for their Pay were not anſwered, nor indeed a vaſt number of other Orders of theirs on different Branches of the Revenue for the like Payment, amounting to near 100,000 *l.* as may be ſeen in the Liſt which they preſented to the Houſe on *May* 16. The Account then may ſtand thus;

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Charge by Article 1, 2, 3, and 10	680,000	0	0
Diſcharge by Diſburſements for 8 Months of the Navy	200,000	0	0
——— Gariſon of *Dunkirk*	100,000	0	0
——— By ſpecial Orders of Houſe of Commons	387,269	10	0
	687,269	10	0

Theſe three Articles of Diſburſements ſwallowing up 7269 *l.* 10 *s.* more than the Funds of the public Revenue (beſides thoſe appropriated to the Payment of the Army that was to be diſbanded, and ſpent entirely in that Service) produced, there is nothing left either for the Ordinary of the Navy, or for the Guards and Gariſons in *England*, (which laſt were in greater number than now, becauſe there were

were ſeveral Caſtles then ſtanding, which were ſoon after diſmantled,) or for diſbanding the part of the Army that was to be broke in *Ireland*, and paying that which was neceſſary to be kept on Foot in that Kingdom; or for many other publick Services leſs conſiderable; much leſs was there any Thing left for the Civil Liſt, the ordinary Expences of the King's Houſhold, and other Outgoings which will be ſeen when I come to ſpecify the particular Articles of Expence included in the general Title of the Civil Liſt; or for the immenſe Debt mentioned before, as left without any Proviſion by the Convention Parliament.

A new Parliament was called, and met on *May* 8, 1661, which the *By-Stander* hath equipped with the Character of a *Tory-Parliament*, tho' the Name of *Tory* was not then known. It was in Truth compoſed ſo generally of Gentlemen that were attached to the true Conſtitution of *England* in Church and State, and of ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed in thoſe Days by the Name of Cavaliers, that old Mr. *Aſhe* of *Heyleſbury*, a Gentleman of very different Principles, who was Member of it, hath told me, that they ſate down but 56 Members of the ſame Sentiments with himſelf in the Houſe when the Parliament firſt met, and yet by their conſtant Attendance upon every Occaſion, and by their Induſtry in getting their Partiſans choſe in the ſtead of deceaſed Members, they came to be a Majority before it was diſſolved; an Example that ſhould naturally recommend the like Diligence, Perſeverance, and Attendance in our Times, and keep every Body from deſpairing of their Country.

The *By-Stander* (*p.* 66.) ſeems much offended at the Conduct of this Parliament, but with little Reaſon, even the five Acts, which he has picked out of a vaſt number, that they paſſed in the Space of 18 Years, as the moſt liable to Exception, and beſt deſerv-

deſerving of Reproach. But whoever knows the Hiſtory of 1641, and conſiders the Circumſtances of the Times when they paſſed, will be apt to think them not only expedient, but neceſſary. The tumultuous and riotous manner of preſenting Petitions to the King and Parliament by thouſands of People, uſing horrible Clamours, Threats, and Inſolencies, had been in 1641, a great Means of terrifying the Members of both Houſes from voting according to their Conſcience, and forcing them for the Safety of their Perſons to abſtain from their Attendance in Parliament; and had contributed exceedingly to the late unhappy Wars, Confuſions, and Calamities, from which the Nation had been ſo lately delivered. It was abſolutely neceſſary to guard againſt a ſeditious Practice, ſo deſtructive to the public Peace and the Freedom of Parliaments: Yet ſuch was the Moderation of the Cavaliers in this Parliament, and ſo tender were they of the Lives and Liberties of the People, that they forbad it under no heavier Penalties than a Fine and 3 Months Impriſonment; Penalties inflicted in the caſe of an ordinary Riot. They confined them likewiſe to this particular Point, and did not extend their Prohibition to every Concourſe of People upon any Occaſion whatever; much leſs did they think of putting it in the Power of a Juſtice of Peace to make the Offence capital by his reading of a Proclamation, and of executing by an infamous kind of Death every Man, who did not diſperſe immediately. Theſe Severities were none of the Exploits of what the *By-Stander* calls a Tory Parliament.

In the Rump Times, all the Corporations in *England* had been garbled and new modelled to the Purpoſe of the Uſurpers, and all Members that would not take the ſolemn League and Covenant, Engagement, and Abjuration Oaths then impoſed, had been turned out illegally. Others had been as

illegally placed in their ſtead, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of the Charters and Liberties of thoſe Corporations; which hereby ceaſing to be rightly conſtituted, all their Elections made afterwards of Magiſtrates, Officers and Members, were queſtioned as illegal. This gave Occaſion to an infinite number of Law-ſuits and Diſputes, Heats and Animoſities, which endangered the public Peace, and cauſed terrible Diſtractions in every part of the Kingdom. To terminate theſe as ſoon as poſſible, was abſolutely neceſſary for the Tranquillity of the Nation, as well as the Security of the Government: And the Corporation Act, empowering Commiſſioners to reſtore, remove, or put in Members and Officers in theſe Corporations, was a very proper Proviſion for that Purpoſe. And it muſt be obſerved, that the Commiſſions iſſued out upon this Occaſion, were (as may be ſeen in the Commiſſions upon the Record, and in the News-papers of thoſe Days, giving an Account of the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners,) granted not to ſuch Perſons as Affidavit Juſtices in ſome Counties, and ſixpeny ones in others, but to Gentlemen of the firſt Quality and the greateſt Honour, Worth, and Eſtates in their reſpective Counties; the fitteſt Perſons certainly to be entruſted with ſuch a Power, and with the Regulation of the Corporations in their Neighbourhood.

The Declaration in the Corporation Act, which ſo highly offends the *By-Stander*, did not regard this part of the Act; being intended only for perpetuating, in ſuch Corporations, a Succeſſion of Perſons well affected to the eſtabliſhed Government. This was a Teſt natural enough for a Church of *England* Parliament to make, the Doctrine laid down therein, being the ſame as is aſſerted in her Homilies, drawn up at the very Time of the Reformation, in Terms every whit as ſtrong and ex-

preſs, as thoſe that are uſed in this Declaration; but this after all, did not raiſe ſo many Scruples then, as it does now; and was leſs excepted againſt than another, which follows it in this Act, and in that of Uniformity, and was to be taken likewiſe by all that held either Offices in Corporations, or Benefices in the Church: I mean the *Declaration of renouncing the ſolemn League and Covenant.* A Word or two of the Hiſtory thereof may perhaps gratify the Reader's Curioſity.

The Party which prevailed in the Convention Parliament, had ſet their Heart upon eſtabliſhing the Preſbyterians, excluſive of all other Denominations of Chriſtians; and allowed the Clergy of that Sect to ſend over Deputies along with their own to the King then in *Holland*, to extort from him a Promiſe agreeable to their Wiſhes. Theſe Deputies would not even allow the Uſe of the Common Prayer in the King's Chappel; but his Majeſty being well inſtructed by General *Monk* of their Deſigns, abſolutely rejected that Reſtriction, and for every Thing elſe referred them to his Declaration, which ſubmitted every Thing to the Deciſion of Parliament. Soon after the King came Home, they paſſed an Act (12 *Car.* II. *c.* 17.) *for the confirming and reſtoring of Miniſters*, " by which all Perſons or " Miniſters, who had been ordained by any Eccle- " ſiaſtical Perſons before the laſt *Chriſtmas*, and had " not renounced their Ordination, and were on laſt " *Dec.* 25. in Poſſeſſion of any Benefice, to which " they had been named or admitted in any manner " whatſoever ſince *Jan.* 1, 1642, were confirmed " in the Enjoyment thereof, and of the Profits an- " nexed thereto." The King being a Patron, *cui nullum Tempus occurrit*, this Act cut off at once all his preſent Right to the Patronage of that great number of Livings which are in the gift of the Crown, and confirmed the Uſurpations which had been

been made upon that Right: But his Circumſtances were ſuch at this Time, that he could refuſe nothing which the Parliament tendered for the royal Aſſent.

There were ſeveral Clauſes in it, which excluded the Independants, as well as the Anabaptiſts, from the Benefit thereof: And filled both with Reſentment and Fury, not ſo much to ſee themſelves outed, as to ſee the Preſbyterians, who (they thought) had been as deep in Rebellion as themſelves, confirmed in the Poſſeſſion of what they had got in the Iniquity of the late Times. They clamoured in all Places againſt the Difference that had been made between them: And Dr. *Owen*, the Head of the firſt Sect, and who knew the laſt well, went to the Lord Chancellor, and repreſented to him, "That "there was no manner of Reaſon for ſuch a Di- "ſtinction between the Preſbyterians and the Inde- "pendants; the former being full as dangerous as "the latter; that if the Church of *England* and her "Clergy, whoſe Merits to the King were ſo ex- "ceeding great, and who had been turned out of "all for their Loyalty to him and his Father, were "reſtored to all their Rights, as he had been to his "Crown, there would be no Room to complain, "were it but done out of a Principle of Juſtice, "*i. e.* indifferently, and without any Diſtinction of "Parties; that the keeping in of the Preſbyterians "was a Diſtinction in their Favour, infinitely odi- "ous to the other Sects, and utterly inconſiſtent "with the Safety of the Government; for being "too reſtleſs and aſpiring to be content with what "they had, and too proud of their Merits to be "obliged by any Favours ſhewn them, they would "ſtill go on in their old Ways, propagate their ſe- "ditious Doctrines, enflame the Nation, and ſoon "throw it into the ſame Diſorders and Confuſions, "as they had done formerly, that leaving them "the Pariſh Pulpits, was leaving it in their Power

" to execute their Schemes; and tho' it was diffi-
" cult to find out a Teſt, which they would not
" take rather than quit that Advantage, yet there
" was one Way to get rid of them, and he believed
" no other would do it, which was to require them
" to *renounce the ſolemn League* and Covenant."

This Covenant had been the chief Inſtrument of the late Rebellion, of which it laid the Foundation and advanced the Progreſs: It had contributed more effectually than any other Means, towards bringing his late Majeſty to the Block, and towards the Ruin of the King's Affairs. The Preſbyterians ſtill maintained the Obligations of it, as abundance of them do even to this Day; and thoſe, who had as yet Poſſeſſion of the Church Livings, did not fail from the Pulpit to inſiſt on them, and (as the Lord Chancellor complained in his Speech to the Parliament on *May* 8, 1661,) " *to repeat the very* Expreſ-
" ſions, and teach the ſame Doctrine they had ſet
" on Foot in 1641, and bid *People ſtand to their*
" *Arms.*" *Venner*'s Inſurrection had been lately quelled, but it had appeared to have been made with a more general Concert, than was at firſt imagined of ſuch a Sett of wild Enthuſiaſts. Diſcoveries had been made of other Treaſons and intended Deſigns of riſing, which in the late Times of Uſurpation, would have produced High Courts of Juſtice for taking Vengeance on the Conſpirators: But the King hoping to gain his People over by Goodneſs, was averſe to ſuch Severities, and only laid out his Care to prevent the Effects of ſuch Conſpiracies. It is no great matter of Wonder, if a Church of *England* Parliament ſhould, in ſuch a Juncture, think fit to order the *ſolemn League and Covenant* to be burnt by the Hangman, to eraſe the Subſcription of the Rump to it out of their Books, and to provide for the Peace of the Realm and the Security of the Government, by requiring a Renunci-

nunciation thereof from all Officers in Corporations, and all Miniſters that enjoyed Benefices in the Church.

This was what, after the ſad Experience of the Treatment which the Church of *England* had met with from the Covenanters in the late Times of Uſurpation, they could not well neglect to do, without being acceſſary to their own Ruin; yet they did not take haſty Steps in the Affair. For before the Act of Uniformity paſſed, the Houſe of Commons had Advice from ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, of Deſigns to diſturb the public Peace, which they ordered to be laid before the King on *December* 3, 1661; and on the 19th of that Month, the Lords in a Conference acquainted the Commons, "that "there had been a Deſign forming ever ſince *March* "laſt, to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and "named ſeveral of the Parties engaged, with the "manner and Contrivance of the Deſign, and the "Progreſs thereof; and that tho' their Deſigns "were diſordered as to the effecting them in Town, "(to which End they had made a general Invita- "tion of diſbanded Officers and Soldiers, and o- "ther diſaffected Perſons to reſort thither about "*Dec.* 11.) yet they were ſtill practiſing to execute "the ſame in the Country"; propoſing in the End, that the Commons would name a Committee of 24 of their Body, to join with 12 of theirs, to examine into the Deſign; which was done accordingly.

This Committee, in the Courſe of their Examination into this Affair, found (as appears by their Report *Jan.* 10, 1661,) "that great Numbers of "Perſons pretending to be *Quakers* had met at "*Huntingdon*, and had rode in Multitudes about the "Country by Night, to the Terror of his Maje- "ſty's Subjects." Such a Situation of Affairs naturally drew on a Bill againſt the *Quakers*, and afford-

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ed abundant Reaſons for the Declarations required in the Corporation Act, and that of Uniformity.

If 2000 *pious* Divines, who had made uſe of what Learning they had, and exerted their *Orthodox* Principles for covering three Kingdoms with Blood, Confuſion and Deſolation, were obliged to quit their Livings, out of which they had firſt ejected the Church of *England* Clergy, and into which they had intruded by uſurping on the Rights of Patrons, (which was the Caſe of moſt of them) for want of making Declarations, neceſſary to give the Government in a Time of Danger, a reaſonable Aſſurance, that they would not re-act the Crimes of which they had been lately pardoned, nor encourage others to do ſo, who were left under their Direction or Influence; what is there ſingular in their Caſe, to to make it deemed a greater Hardſhip than they themſelves had thought it ſo lately in the Caſe of the Independants and Anabaptiſts, and a few Years before in the Caſe of the Clergy of the Church of *England?* They had been the Authors of the Precedent, *nec lex eſt juſtior ulla.* They had puſhed on the Covenant with a Fury unknown to former Ages; all their Aſſembly of learned Divines could not anſwer the Reaſons given againſt it by the Univerſity of *Oxford*; and yet (ſuch was their Piety) they impoſed it on the Conſciences of all the World, Conſciences perhaps as tender as their own. They had turned out 7 or 8000 Church of *England* Divines, who were legally and juſtly poſſeſſed of their Livings and Preferments, to make Room for themſelves, and whilſt they were ſtarving with their Families, had fattened themſelves for 19 Years together with their Spoils: And if that fatal Engine of theirs for ſubverting the Conſtitution, their darling Covenant; proved by a Turn of Times the Occaſion of their own being diſpoſſeſſed of Benefices, into which it had been the Means of their Intruſion, ſerious and im-

impartial Minds will not be ſo biaſſed by their natural Compaſſion, as not to reflect at the ſame Time upon the Juſtice of Providence.

I am no great Friend to Teſts; but all Governments have thought it proper to take ſuch Precautions for their Security. Thus we have ſeen in our Times ſeven excellent Biſhops, and near 1000 Clergymen of the Church of *England*, and the whole Body of the Clergy (almoſt to a Man) of another Kingdom, now united to ours, turned out of their Freeholds, becauſe they could not comply with ſuch Teſts, though their former Conduct had been in all Reſpects irreproachable. There have been ſome invented, which a Son of one of the Truſtees for the Charities to the *Bartholomew* Divines, has been ſaid to glory in contriving ſo, as to damn one half of the Clergy and ſtarve the other. The Difference of Perſons, whether Preſbyterian or Epiſcopal Divines, doth not ſurely alter the Nature of Things; what Occaſion then for Complaints on one Account more than the other? The Diſſenters are at preſent embarraſſed but by one Teſt; and that does not hinder them from enjoying Offices of Place and Truſt; whilſt an Act paſſeth regularly every Seſſion, *To indemnify Perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for Offices, Employments and Promotions within the Time limited by Law, and for allowing further Time for that Purpoſe*; and is ſo far from alarming thoſe that uſed to be affected with every the leaſt Appearance of Danger to the Church-Eſtabliſhment, that it is come to be conſidered by them as a *Bill of Courſe*, and is neither oppoſed nor attended. Whether this be owing to any Promiſe made them, or how far ſuch Promiſe, or other Aſſurance of Favour may extend, they beſt know; but when they are thus let into Offices in the State, and an Education in their Academies, is no Bar to Promotion even in the

the higheſt Dignities of the Church; they ſhould ſet themſelves not ſo much to revive old Stories, as to rejoice in their preſent Situation. For though they be employed as yet in leſſer Numbers, than perhaps their Wiſhes ſuggeſt, or their Merits deſerve, 'tis always a great Matter to have begun well; their Condition and Numbers may improve in Time; thoſe Means to an End are ſureſt that work gradually; Impatience only ſerves to defeat the beſt laid Projects.

After complaining of the *Act of Uniformity*, the *By-Stander* proceeds to take Notice of that for *preventing Abuſes in printing Seditious, Treaſonable and unlicenced Books and Pamphlets*; which did not paſs 'till the latter End of *July* 1663; a Time when the Preſs ſwarmed with virulent Pamphlets, juſtifying the execrable Murther of King *Charles* I. (as may be ſeen in *Hodgkinſon*'s News-Papers, publiſhed about that Time, N°. 1, 3, 4, &c.) and it is no great Wonder if the Horror of the Thing tranſported the Parliament then ſitting, to put a Reſtraint on the Liberty of the Preſs. There could not be a ſtronger Temptation, than they lay under on that Occaſion; eſpecially ſince they had the Example ſet them by the great Patrons of Liberty, in the Rump-Parliament; this Act being copied after two Ordinances of theirs, which are printed in *Scobel*'s *Collections*. The Republicans of thoſe Days, were the firſt Invaders of the Liberty of the Preſs; which I am afraid is not ſo entire at preſent as a free People might wiſh, for the Safety of it's Liberties: It ever was free for one ſide of the Queſtion, notwithſtanding any Act that was made to reſtrain it; but is it ſo now on the other. The *By-Stander* indeed enjoys it in it's full Perfection, and may make what Miſrepreſentations he pleaſes, with Impunity; but ſuch a Liberty was never yet indulged to any but the

the *Orthodox*, (in *Jerry White*'s Definition of the Word) to thoſe *who have the Gallows on their Side.*

When the *By-Stander* ſhall think fit to publiſh his Volume of the other *Worthy Exploits* of the Parliament, whoſe Acts we have been conſidering, I may then poſſibly think it proper to take Notice of what he waves mentioning in this Pamphlet: At preſent I am called upon to examine his next Calculation.

Before I enter thereon, it will not be amiſs to recapitulate the Circumſtances in which the King was left by the Convention Parliament; cut off from all Arrears of the Rents and Profits of his own Lands and Revenue, to *June* 24, 1660, by the Act of Indemnity; all Grants of Wardſhips either by himſelf, or his Father, ſince *March* 25, 1641, diſcharged to *June* 24, 1660; debarred from any uſe of his Tenures for the reſt of the Year, till the Parliament had ſettled a conſtant Revenue on him; that Revenue voted, but not ſettled; and the Part which was given not commencing to the End of the Year; loaded with an immenſe Debt of Two Millions, without any Fund aſſigned or given to diſcharge it; and utterly deſtitute of every Thing but Credit, to raiſe Money for Publick Services of the greateſt Importance, and the moſt abſolutely neceſſary to be provided for immediately. Such were the diſbanding of the greateſt Part of the *Iriſh* Army, and the paying off of above 100 Ships of the Navy which he found here in Pay, (beſides the 25 which were lying in Harbour, whoſe Pay had been provided for by the Parliament:) And on theſe Accounts he ſtretched his Credit ſo, as made him uneaſy for all the reſt of his Life; nor could any Alienation of the Crown-Lands, or the Sale of the Fee-Farm Rents ever extricate him out of the Debt in which he was firſt involved upon this Occaſion.

A King cannot well be in a more uncomfortable Situation, than to find himself under a Necessity of running into Debt for his own Safety and that of the Kingdom; and thereby laid under a Disability of recompencing the Merits, Services, and Sufferings of his Friend's as he wished to do. Nothing sits so uneasy on a generous Mind, as the being forced to a Conduct that looks like Neglect and Ingratitude. King *Charles* did all that he could for those who had suffered for the Royal Cause; but he could not do more than his Abilities permitted. He passed large Grants of the Crown-Lands and Fee-Farm Rents to the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Earls of *Bath* and *Sandwich*, and others that had been serviceable in his Restoration. He created Perpetuities and Pensions for Lives and Terms of Years on the Exchequer, Customs, Tenths, Post-Office and other Branches of the Revenue, by which it was considerably diminished: And more so after the Year 1672, (when the Payments at the Exchequer were stopped) by the yearly Charge of 79,566*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* payable for perpetual Interest to the Goldsmiths who had Money there. I do not find that the Perpetuities amounted to above 1469*l.* 12*s.* but the Pensions for Lives and Years amounted to about 150,000 *l.* a-Year, even after the Revolution, as appears by Sir *Rob. Howard*'s Accompt and List of Particulars delivered to the House of Commons, on *March* 20, 168$\frac{8}{9}$, and *April* 27, following. This List took in only the Survivors at that Time, and as Mrs. *Jane Lane*, who had 1000 *l.* a-Year, was then dead, and probably a vast Number of others in the Space of near 30 Years that passed between the Restoration, and that Report to the House of Commons, and who therefore are not mentioned therein, it is reasonable to suppose that the Pensions arose to a much greater Sum in the Years immediately following the King's Restoration: However, not to af-

ford the leaſt Occaſion for Cavil, I will in examining the *By-Stander*'s Calculation, charge this Incumbrance on the Revenue only at 150,000 *l.* a-Year.

The *By-Stander*'s Compariſon of what King *Charles* might ſave from it, (after he had provided for the Publick Services) with the Civil Liſts eſtabliſhed ſince the Revolution, forces me to obſerve, that as thoſe Accompts were after the Revolution called for from Sir *Robert Howard*, when the Houſe had the ſettling of the Civil Liſt under their Conſideration; ſo that Revenue was ſettled clear upon King *William* and his Succeſſors, excluſive of 145,800 *l.* 1 *s.* 1 ½ *d.* there charged for Penſions and Perpetuities, and the 79,566 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.* to the Goldſmiths; ſo that though they were a great Load on King *Charles*'s Revenue, they have been none at all to the Civil Liſt ſince the Revolution. But if they are no loſs to the Government, they have probably been of ſome Advantage to Miniſters and Officers of the Treaſury; for though the Houſe of Commons allowed of theſe Penſions at the Time above-mentioned, yet ſuch Difficulty is made about the paying of any of King *Charles*'s Grants, that I have known Gentlemen, entitled to ſome of theſe Penſions forced to part with one half of them to get the other. I have now before me King *Charles*'s Letters Patent for one of thoſe in the Liſt, granted in Favour of an old Servant, for 200 *l.* a Year, to be paid at the Receipt of the Exchequer, and payable 'till about Eight Years ago, not one Farthing of which hath ever been paid ſince the Revolution. This poſſibly may have been the Caſe of a great many others; if ſo, the Civil Liſt (if I take the Matter right) would be proportionably improved; and if any have been regularly paid, ſuch a Favour doubtleſs would be thought to deſerve ſome not unuſual Returns. 'Tis not uncom-

mon, even in private Life, to see People bribed by their own Money; and on whatever Account it comes into some Persons Hands, they know how to make it a Fund of Corruption.

I come now to the *By-Stander*'s Calculation for the Year 1661; which stands thus:

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
1. The Customs then farmed at about		350,000	0	0
2. Hereditary and Temporary Excise, then farmed at		275,952	0	0
3. Wine-Licences first paid at *Lady-Day* that Year.		7000	0	0
4. The Small Branches computed by Sir *William Petty*, as follows:	*l.*			
Crown Lands *per* Annum,	70,000			
Post-Office,	20,000			
Coinage and Pre-emption of Tin,	12,000	130,000	0	0
Forest of *Dean*,	4000			
Courts of Justice,	6000			
First Fruits and Tenths,	18,000			
5. Act for vesting Money, *&c.* collected in the late Times, and still in the Hands of the Collectors, and not pardoned by the Act of Oblivion, computed at		50,000	0	0
6. Voluntary Present to his Majesty, computed by Mr. *Coke* at		300,000	0	0
7. Arrears of Excise and new Impost, computed by Mr. *Coke* at		300,000	0	0

8. Assess

		l.	s.	d.
8.	Aſſeſſment for 18 Months, at 70,000 *l.* a Month, from *Dec.* 5, 1661	1,260,000	0	0
9.	Act for Leaſes in *Cornwall*	100,000	0	0
		2,772,952	0	0

The Charge in the 4th Article as to the Foreſt of *Dean*, ought to be leſſened at leaſt 3000 *l.* a Year, it being then, and having been for above 20 Years before, in Sir *John Winter*'s Hands by a Leaſe in 1639, at leſs than 1000 *l.* a Year Rent; as appears by the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, *May* 22, and *July* 20, 1663; when Sir *John* agreed to accept a Conſideration of 30,000 *l.* and give up his Leaſe; after which that Foreſt might be ſet at 4000 *l.* a Year, but not before.

I muſt obſerve likewiſe that I find the *Wine-Licenſes* reckoned among the ſmall Branches of the Revenue, by the Acts of 1 *Ann*; 1 *George* I. and 1 *George* II. for ſettling the Civil Liſt on thoſe Princes, and as it is not diſtinctly mentioned in Sir *Robert Howard*'s Account of the Revenue, preſented to the Houſe on *March* 1, 168$\frac{8}{9}$, it ſeems there alſo included in the ſmall Branches, which he computes but at 26,350 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* and for this Reaſon, I think the Charge of 7000 *l.* for thoſe Licenſes in the 3d Article ought to be omitted. But as the *By-Stander* does not mention in what Tract of Sir *Will. Petty*'s, his Eſtimate of the *Small Branches* is to be found, and I have not met with it in any that I have had an Opportunity of ſeeing, I will not at preſent offer to diſpute it further.

If any one conſiders the Terms of the Act 13 *Car.* II. *c.* 3. which makes the 5th Article, and the Extenſiveneſs of the Act of Oblivion, one

ſhould not expect much to ariſe thence to the King, above the Charges of his Commiſſions of Enquiry; but as I find no ſure Guide to inſtruct me in the particular Amount thereof, or of the voluntary Preſent to his Majeſty, I ſhall not diſpute either the 5th or 6th Articles.

But I muſt except to the 7th Article, about the Arrears of the Exciſe and new Impoſt; becauſe I find on the Journal of the Houſe of Commons, on *May* 31, 1660. That Col. *White* made a Report from the Committee, appointed to examine into the Arrears of the Exciſe, *&c.* that there was then an Arrear of good Debts of the Exciſe, ſince *Sept.* 29, 1657, 150,000 *l.* from the Importers of *London*, 20,000 *l.* from the Brewers of the ſame City, and 40,000*l.* from the Counrty Exciſe in all, 210,000*l.* the Reaſon of which Arrear is aſſigned to be, the frequent Changes and Revolutions in Government, the want of accompting with Merchants, and the ſhort Continuance of the Exciſe; but for 3 Months at a Time, and once for 2 Months. As theſe Reaſons ceaſed at the Time of that Report, and there was then ſuch a Want of Money, that no Means were left untried for an immediate Payment of theſe Arrears, it is very likely that the greateſt Part thereof were got in before this Act paſſed, eſpecially ſince 170,000 *l.* of the Money was due from ſuch rich Men, as Brewers and Merchants generally are in *London*. It muſt alſo be conſidered that the 210,000 *l.* included all the Arrears ſince *Sept.* 29, 1657: And the Act of Oblivion (Clauſe 48.) pardoning all Arrears of the Exciſe to *June* 24, 1659; a Deduction may very well be made for that Year, and Three Quarters of 20,000 *l.* from that groſs Sum of theſe Arrears. I have alſo before obſerved that the Convention Parliament, did on *Dec.* 29, 1660, the laſt Day of their ſitting, reſolve that a Sum of 35,110 *l.* 19 *s.* 6 *d.* charged on

on the Exciſe before *Dec.* 7, 1648, according to a Liſt then delivered to the Houſe, ſhould be paid together with abundance of other old Debts charged likewiſe thereon, the Particulars whereof it would be too tedious to mention: And it will be ſufficient to obſerve further, that they exceeded even the Amount of all the Arrears of the Exciſe, tho' computed from *Sept.* 29, 1657; ſo that, in truth, nothing of thoſe Arrears ſhould be brought to Accompt; and if the *By-Stander* ſhould ſtill inſiſt, that there muſt be ſome Arrears ſtill ſtanding out when this Act paſſed, I can't, for the Reaſons aſſigned above, allow it to be more than 30,000 *l.* and therefore deduct 270,000 *l.* from this 7th Article.

Out of the 8th Article, *viz.* the Act for 1,260,000 *l.* the Charge of collecting which, from the Aid granted by Act 1 *W.* and *M. c.* 3. ſeems to be about 1180 *l.* for each monthly Aſſeſſment of 70,000 *l.* as may be ſhewn from other Authorities, but is plain enough from the Journal of *Feb.* 28, 1688, where an Aſſeſſment of 70,000 *l.* is valued at about 68,820 *l.* clear Money, as one of 35,000 *l.* a a Month, had on *June* 4 and 21, 1678, been at 34,410 *l*; at this Rate, the charge of collecting the 18 Months Aſſeſſment, will amount to 21,240 *l.* which ought therefore to be deducted.

The 9th Article is the uſual Act for enabling the King to make Leaſes of his own Lands in the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, but his Computation of the Fines for thoſe Leaſes is extravagant. Now the annual Profits of that Dutchy *, being at moſt about 9000 *l.* ariſing partly by reſerved *Rents* (which the *By-Stander* ſays could be no leſs than one Quarter of the yearly Value) and partly by Fines for the renewal of Leaſes, we cannot well ſuppoſe the Fines to produce above half of that Sum, *viz.* 4500 *l.* a Year; and I am apt to think I exceed in this Eſtimate.

* See the Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. 22. Page 428.

There

There was not a County in *England*, where the Gentlemen ſo univerſally diſtinguiſhed themſelves for the King's Cauſe, and ſuffered more for it, than they did in *Cornwall*. They gained for him the Battles of *Foway*, *Stratton*, and *Lanſdown*, againſt much more numerous Forces of the Enemy, carried *Briſtol* by Storm, and reduced all the *Weſt* to his Obedience, abundance of them loſing their Lives, and almoſt all of them being plundered and ſequeſtred afterwards for their Loyalty. K. *Char.* I. about *Auguſt* 1645, cauſed a ſhort Account of theſe Services to be drawn up, and by an Order of Council, directed it to be hung up in every Church of that County, (where it is to be ſeen at this Day) as a Monument of their unparallelled Loyalty, Bravery, and Zeal in his Service, and a Teſtimony of his grateful Acknowledgment thereof. When that Prince had ſuch a Senſe of their Services, can it poſſibly be thought that he did not, 'till that Time at leaſt, renew their Leaſes, fill up the Lives that dropped in his Cauſe, if not grant reverſionary ones in their Favour? King *Charles* II. had, whilſt Prince of *Wales*, reſided for ſome Time in the County, and knew moſt of the Gentlemen perſonally; and had too the ſame Senſe of their Services that his Father had expreſſed. Conſidering theſe Things, and what Title the Kings *Corniſh* Tenants had to his Favour, and that after long Sequeſtrations, *&c.* an Increaſe of Rent would ſuit them better than Fines which they were unable to pay, if we ſuppoſe the King to take at once 4 Years Value of the 15 or 16, during which there had been no renewal of Leaſes, (and this is the utmoſt that can reaſonably be ſuppoſed,) the Fines would in that Caſe amount but to 18,000 *l.* and therefore 82,000 *l.* is to be deducted from the *By-Stander*'s Calculation. But I am of Opinion, the whole 100,000 *l.* ſhould be deducted, as well becauſe through the Inability of the Tenants

Tenants to pay Fines, their reſerved Rents were raiſed, and King *William* had the Benefit of the Fines, by being enabled to take Compoſitions for reducing them to their old Rate in 1660, (by Act 12 and 13 *W.* 3. *c.* 3.) as becauſe theſe Fines are computed among the ſmall Branches of the Revenue, and ought not to be computed twice.

If he rates the Grants too high, he ſinks the Diſburſements as much too low. A Regiment of 490 Horſe, and 3600 Foot at *Dunkirk*, could not be maintained at 60,000 *l.* a Year. He computes the Ordinary of the Navy and Ordnance at 40,000 *l.* a Year, grounding his Eſtimate upon King *Charles*'s Promiſe in 1678, to the Parliament, that if they would ſettle an additional Revenue upon him, he would allot *fifty thouſand Pounds per Annum* for the future to this Service; whence he preſumes, that before that Time it had not coſt ſo much. Monſtrous Miſtake! to give it no worſe a Name. Let him read with Confuſion the Commons Journal of *June*, 1678, where the King's Speech, to which he here refers, is inſerted at length; and he may there find his Majeſty, after complaining of the Scantineſs of his Revenue, exceedingly impaired by Debts *long ſince* contracted, and by the preſent Anticipations thereof, expreſſing himſelf to his Parliament to this Effect. "That if they would have him able to "purſue ſuch a War as *Argiers* with Honour, and "at the ſame Time keep ſuch Fleets about our own "Coaſts, as may give our Neighbours the Reſpect "always paid to the Crown of *England*, they muſt "find a Way to ſettle for his Life, not only his "Revenue, and the additional Duties as at *Chriſtmas* laſt, but of adding to them upon ſome new "Funds 300,000 *l.* a Year, upon which (he ſaid) "he would conſent to an Act for appropriating *five "hundred thouſand Pounds* a Year to the conſtant "Maintenance of the Navy and Ordnance." Who-

ever reads this Paſſage, will have no advantageous Opinion of the *By-Stander*'s Veracity in this particular Caſe, or of the Fairneſs and Exactneſs of his Calculations in any.

His Computation of 156,000 *l.* for the Navy, he pretends to found upon an Eſtimate of Sir *W. Petty's*; but doth not think fit to quote the Place where it may be found; only taking Care to ſink the Charge lower than 'tis made by his Author; who yet is certainly miſtaken in his Eſtimate, if it be his. To fix theſe Charges with more Certainty, I muſt have Recourſe to the Journals of the Commons, who immediately after the Revolution, enquired into every Part of the Expences of former Reigns with Regard to the Navy, as well as the Houſhold, *&c.* and I find it there on *March* 20, 1688-9, expreſly aſſerted, that in the laſt 5 Years of King *Charles* II. the Charge of his Navy was never leſs than 400,000 *l.* a Year; and more particularly on *April* 5 following, that 48 Ships, as well Men of War as Fire-Ships, *&c.* with 7040 Seamen, were always neceſſary for a Summer's and Winter's Guard, and coſt 28,160 *l.* a Month, or 366,080 *l.* a Year; and that the Ordinary of the Navy was fixed at 130,000 *l.* a Year, which was the conſtant and neceſſary Charge, beſides 18,250 *l.* ordinary Charge in the Office for Salaries, travelling Charges, and other Contingencies. To confirm this laſt Account of the Charge of the Navy, and ſhew the loweſt Coſt of it in all the Reign of King *Charles*, I find, when the Charge of it in 1676 (a Year in which he was engaged in no War with any *European* Power, not even with the *Turkiſh* Rovers, and therefore the cheapeſt that I could poſſibly pick out) had been under the Examination of a Committee, Mr. *Bowles*, the Chairman, reported to the Houſe on *June* 17, 1678, "that the ordinary Charge of the "Navy in Times of Peace, for paying off the

"Navy

" Navy Board, Docks, and for Summer and Win-
" ter Guard, (except Ordnance) was (the round
" Sum of) 360,000 *l.* and that the ordinary Charge
" of Ordnance in Time of Peace, for both Land
" and Sea Service, was 72,000 *l.* a Year ": Beſides which, there were other Expences for Stores, Repairs, and the Ordinary of the Navy; and there were frequently Extraordinaries to be provided for, which it is not eaſy at this Diſtance of Time to ſpecify, ſuch as 44,551 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* laid out in Fortifications in that ſame peaceful Year of 1676, which yet was allowed by the Parliament of 1678, which proſecuted the Popiſh Plot with ſo much Fury, and which examined into all Diſburſements with ſo much Exactneſs, and likewiſe with ſuch an Indiſpoſition to grant a Supply, or do any Thing for the Service of the Crown, or to eaſe it of any Expence to which it was ſubject, that the like is ſcarce ever to be obſerved in all the Journals of the Houſe. It was indeed the ſame Parliament that met in 1661, but compoſed of ſuch a Majority of new Members, of different Principles from thoſe who ſate in it at the firſt, that the *By-Stander* (p. 89.) tells us, the *Whigs* now inſpired all its Meaſures, and preſided in all its Enquiries into the public Accompts; ſo that I hope he will make no Objection to any Calculation I uſe upon their Authority.

The next Article is the Charge of the King's Guards; which he computes at 99,667 *l.* as he does that of Gariſons, Fire, and Candle, and Contingencies at 20,000 *l.* What can the *By-Stander* mean by this Calculation? Does he intend to put the People of *England* upon reflecting on the happy Times of their Forefathers? *Felices proavorum atavos*, was the uſual Exclamation of every virtuous *Roman*, in a Senſe of the Miſeries of his Country, in an Age of Corruption, whenever he called to mind the Virtue and public Spirit of his Anceſtors, in the early

and incorrupt Days of the Republic. And does the *By-Stander* now encourage the like Reflexion, among a People that do not want good Senſe, if they are diſpoſed to uſe it, and who feel enough to engage them in a ſerious Enquiry into the true Cauſes of all their Grievances? The profeſſed Deſign of his Pamphlet is indeed to make a Compariſon between the Times of K. *Charles* II. and thoſe which have paſſed ſince the Revolution: But he muſt be very weak in his Judgment, or very ſtrong in his Prejudices, if he really propoſed to ſerve his Patron, or make his Court to him by a Method ſo prepoſterous, that had it been taken and managed by abler Hands than his own, every one that knows any Thing of thoſe former Times, muſt ſee at firſt Sight how unlikely it was to anſwer that Purpoſe. I am willing to make all poſſible Allowances for his Ignorance, let it appear never ſo groſs; it is ſtill leſs diſhonourable than if it were affected; and therefore tho' he well knew, (*p.* 77.) that in the Year of this his Calculation, *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* were ſtill in our Hands; I will however ſuppoſe him ignorant of what I have already proved, that there was in thoſe Places a Gariſon of 3600 Foot, and a Regiment of 490 Horſe, a ſtronger Force, and which ought naturally to be more expenſive, than either the Gariſons which we now have in *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, or than the one Regiment of Horſe and one of Foot, which (he ſays, *p.* 73.) were in that Year kept up as Guards at the Expence of 99,667. But he could not ſure be ſo ignorant, as not to know that even after the Gariſon of *Dunkirk* was removed to a remote Quarter of the World, and fixed at *Tangier* in *Africa*, the old *Whigs* of thoſe Days could ſcarce ſleep in their Beds, out of the terrible Apprehenſions they had of the Danger to which the Liberties of a whole Nation were expoſed by two Regiments of Guards. The heavy and eternally re-

peate

peated Clamours of those Patriots on this Occasion, may perhaps be thought groundless by the modern Race of Men, who assure to themselves the Name, whilst they desert the Principles of their Predecessors, and who either more couragious in despising Dangers, or less concerned for their Liberties than they were, can now sleep securely under the Guard of a Standing Army, formidable by its Numbers, and kept so constantly on Foot, that it seems to have become a necessary Part of our new Constitution. Those Clamours however must raise, at least in all thinking Men, a high Opinion of the Goodness of King *Charles*'s Government, and of the Happiness the Kingdom enjoyed under him, for this evident and undeniable Reason, *that People never make a Noise about Nothing, when they have any Thing material to object.* What then is the *By-Stander*'s View in reviving the Memory of those happy Times? He knows, that the Year 1737 was a Year in which we enjoyed a perfect Peace with our Neighbours Abroad, and had all the Tranquillity and Satisfaction at Home that we can ever promise ourselves, whilst our Debts and Taxes continue; free from all Manner of Alarms, and from all, even affected, Apprehensions of Danger. He knows, that in this Year, it was resolved to keep up in *England* a Standing Army to the Number of 17,704 Men *, and the Necessity of such a Number was so strongly asserted by those who were then concerned in the Administration, and supported, if not by weighty Arguments, at least by Pretences, that served to shew their Resolution in this Respect; so that however all the World may wish it, there are very few that ever expect to see it lessened. He knows, that the Sum of 647,549 *l.* 11 *s.* 3½, was granted for the Pay of these Men, and 215,710 *l.* 6 *s.* 5½ for the Garisons of our *Plantations*, *Minorca*, and *Gi-*

* Historical Register, p. 413. and p. 8, *&c.*

braltar; both Sums making together 863,259 *l.* 11 *s.* 9 *d.* He well knows, how ill able a Nation, ſunk with a Debt of near 50 Millions, and impoveriſhed by the continual Payment of numberleſs Taxes that ruin her Trade, is to ſupport ſo heavy a Burthen; and that the Number, as well as Expence, of theſe Land Forces, hath been ſince more than doubled. He knows all this; and yet after conſidering the Situation of Affairs in 1661; when King *Charles* was ſcarce ſeated in the Throne; when an Army of diſaffected Sectaries had ſcarce laid down their Arms, and ſubmitted to be diſperſed; when neither the King's Revenue, nor Eccleſiaſtical Affairs were as yet ſettled; when ſuch a Change was perhaps premeditated, as muſt affect every Part of the Nation, by turning 2000 pious Divines out of as many of the beſt Livings in the Kingdom; when an Inſurrection was juſt quelled, and Plots were daily carrying on to raiſe others; he does not ſcruple to publiſh to the World, that all the Land Forces which King *Charles* kept up for his Security in this Time of Trouble, Diſorder and Danger, did not coſt the Nation one Hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds a Year.

Such are the Calculations by which the *By-Stander*, p. 73. pretends to reduce the Diſburſements for public Services in 1661, to the Sum of 375,667 *l.* his View in computing theſe ſo low is, to have a Pretence to ſwell up a ſaving to the Crown, out of the public Grants, to the Amount of 2,397,285 *l.* and in Conſequence thereof, to fall foul on the *loyal* Parliament then ſitting, on Account of a Liberality to the Crown, which had no Exiſtence but in his own Imagination.

Parliaments in thoſe Days were every whit as ſaving of the People's Money, as every private Man could be of his own; they did not make their own Court to the Prince, at the Expence of their Conſtituents;

ſtituents; and notwithſtanding the *By-Stander* (probably judging of former Ages by what he ſees in his own, beyond which his Letter tempts me to think his Knowledge doth not extend,) is pleaſed in ſeveral Places *, to repreſent this *loyal* Parliament, as *perpetually gorging a King*, who was *perpetually craving*, &c. it will be found upon Examination, that they did not vary in this Point from the Conduct of their Predeceſſors. The King had left the ſettling of his Revenue ſo entirely to that Houſe of Commons, which through General *Monk*'s Influence had invited him Home, that he did not ſend them ſo much as one Meſſage on the Subject, in a Juncture ſo favourable for extravagant Compliments in that Way, as Acceſſions have ſometimes proved; ſuch was his *craving*. All King *Charles*'s Meſſages were on a different Account, *viz.* to preſs the Commons, who, fuller of Reſentments and private Paſſions, than their infinitely more injured Prince, were ſpending Weeks in conſidering, who ſhould be excepted out of that Act of Indemnity, which he, by a Clemency not to be parallelled from the Beginning of the World to that Time, deſigned to be general, to paſs it without further Delay; in Order to quiet the Minds of the guilty Part of the Nation, and remove from them all Apprehenſions of Vengeance. He indeed teazed the Houſe ſufficiently by Meſſages for that Purpoſe; but there was not leaſt mention of Money in any of them, unleſs in his Anſwer to an Addreſs of the Lords on Account of the ſame Act, (as hath been obſerved before) by which he gave up to his Subjects *above Twelve Millions* Sterling of his own private undoubted Property; ſuch was (what the *By-Stander* calls, his *inſatiable Appetite for Money*. I wiſh I could ſay that this Remiſſion, generous to a romantic Degree, had not been abuſed by thoſe, whom it became to make a proper

* Pag. 73, 86, 87 and 88.

Return

Return for it; King *Charles* had then been as happy himſelf, as the Nation was under his Reign; and had he not remitted that vaſt Sum due to him, he might have lived and died as rich as he left his People, who by the Wealth they accumulated in his Time, were enabled to ſupport the almoſt infinite Expences they have been ſince put to, in the Wars which followed the Revolution.

I have ſhewn in what an immenſe Debt, contracted in the iniquitous Times of the late Uſurpers, King *Charles* was left involved by the Convention Parliament; he had by his Credit done all he could to pay off the Seamen, agreeable to the Rules laid down by the Houſe of Commons to be obſerved in that Point, as well as in diſbanding the Forces; but having among their Regulations reſolved, that both ſhould be paid their Arrears from the Year 1658, the Seamen were in a very bad Condition; abundance of them being in Arrears for three or four Years Service. The King's Bounty had hitherto ſupply'd them; but it was fit the new Parliament, which met on *May* 8, 1661, ſhould provide for their Service. The Chancellor in his Speech recommended it to their Care, and moſt of the Time in their firſt Seſſion was ſpent in examining into the Navy Debt, and the Arrears of 65 and 36 Ships that were to be paid off and diſcharged immediately, to prevent the Debts increaſing daily, by continuing the Seamen in Service; and paſſed the Bills mentioned by the *By-Stander*, *pag.* 69 and 70. But all that they did with Regard to the Revenue of the Crown was, to appoint a ſpecial Committee to inquire into the State and Value of what had been intended by the laſt Parliament for that Purpoſe; and finding it on the Report * to be defective about 300,000 *l.* a Year, another Committee was appointed to ſtate the Particulars of the Deficiencies, and conſider how they

* *June* 18, *July* 12.

might

might be beſt ſupplied; in Conſequence of whoſe Report, on *July* 23, they ordered an Inſpection into the Revenue of the Exciſe, in order to conſider how it might be advanced the next Seſſion, with moſt Eaſe to the People, and be collected with the leaſt Charge to his Majeſty; and reſolved to add a Duty on ſealed Paper and Parchment for Publick Uſe; but no Bill was brought in or ordered for that Purpoſe.

The Parliament adjourned on *July* 30, to *Nov.* 20; from which Day they ſate till *December* 20, without doing any Thing more on the Subject: Thus the whole Year 1661, paſſed without the Crown Revenue being ſettled. There does not in this appear any ſuch Eagerneſs in this Parliament to make their Court to the Prince, as the *By-Stander* has been pleaſed to charge them with, or as we may have obſerved of others in later Times: And how the *By-Stander* can take upon him to ſay, *page* 68, that the King now (1661,) "*enjoyed ſo* "*very conſiderable* a ſettled Revenue, that he had "little Want of any additional Supplies," is not eaſy for a Man who has a regard to Truth to imagine.

The Houſes met again after *Chriſtmas*, as ſoon as the Holidays were over; but proceeded with the ſame Slowneſs as before in the Affair. The King, involved in Debts on the Public Account, and ſtruggling with his Wants, had Reaſon enough to be uneaſy at Delays, which argued an Indiſpoſition in the Commons to aſſiſt him in his Difficulties, or put him in a Way to ſubſiſt his Houſhold, and ſupport the Dignity of the Crown. He bore it long, 'till preſſed by his urgent Neceſſities, which made any ſuch further Delay dangerous to the Safety of the Publick, he ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe on *March* 3, 166$\frac{1}{2}$, to this Effect: "That he was "much concerned to find that they were no nearer

" ſettling his Revenue than they had been at *Chriſt-*
" *mas*; that he had communicated his Condition
" to them *without Reſerve*, what he had coming in,
" and what his neceſſary Diſburſements were; and
" was exceedingly deceived, if whatever they gave
" him were any otherwiſe given to him, than to
" be iſſued for their own Uſe and Benefit; and that
" they ſhould conſider there was a Republican Par-
" ty ſtill in the Kingdom, which promiſed them-
" ſelves another Revolution, and the only Way to
" diſappoint their Hopes was, to ſhew that they
" had ſo provided for the Crown, that it had
" wherewith to ſupport itſelf and ſecure the Realm."

What neither the Zeal of this Parliament for Monarchy, nor the firſt Fits of Complaiſance on a Prince's Acceſſion, which often coſt a People dear; nor their Senſe of the Deficiency of the Revenue, nor the honorary Engagement they were under by a former Vote on this Subject, could prevail with them to do, the Neceſſity of the Thing, and the Danger of a further Delay, extorted from them at laſt; and they ordered a Bill to be brought in for eſtabliſhing an *Additional Revenue* upon his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors. This is a true and naked Relation of the Fact; and the Reader may hence learn what to think of the ſcandalous Aſperſions thrown on this Houſe of Commons, for their *former Speed* and ſtrange Liberality, and on the King for his *uſual Craving*, *pag.* 77. by the *By-Stander*, who ſeems throughout his whole Performance to know nothing at all of former Times, and to have only formed Notions of them in his Imagination, from what he has ſeen practiſed in the Preſent; and from thence, by the wrongeſt Concluſion in Nature, fancies it to have been ſo formerly. The World, I am perſuaded, will find nothing in this Relation, ſo juſtly meriting their Wonder and Aſtoniſhment, as that Parliament's ſtrange Backward-

neſs

neſs to ſettle the Revenue of the Crown, and the King's unexampled Patience in bearing their Delays.

Before I proceed to adjuſt the Grants and Diſburſements of 1661; I muſt obſerve that *Ireland* was in a very diſtracted Condition, till the Year 1666; when the Parliament, after providing for the Settlement of the Kingdom, by the Act of Explanation, laid ſeveral Taxes for the ſupport of the Government. Till then it was a conſtant heavy Burthen on King *Charles*, as it was an occaſional one afterwards. He found there at his Reſtoration an Army of Sectaries and Fanatics, which in the Situation of that Kingdom, it was abſolutely neceſſary to pay off and diſband, as ſoon as poſſible. That Work and the providing for the Peace and Safety of that Realm during its Confuſions, 'till the Settlement was made, coſt the King (as I have good Reaſon to think) above 400,000 *l.* in the two firſt Years, and 100,000 *l.* a Year for Three Years afterwards, 'till the Supplies were granted in the beginning of 1666. Nor had King *Charles* any Aid from the *Engliſh* Parliament towards this extraordinary Expence; all was to be defrayed by a Vote of 1,200,000 *l.* a Year, intended but not provided, and at laſt found deficient. A Frugality habitual to Parliaments in thoſe Days, or perhaps a Politic Unwillingneſs to put the Crown at its Eaſe, (which was once a Maxim of that Body) made them leave upon it a Burthen too heavy for that Revenue to bear, even though it had been ſettled and not found deficient; it was ſtill to defray every Thing, and ſupply all Occaſions.

The Slowneſs too, with which the Parliament granted Supplies for the moſt neceſſary Services, was another Expence to the King, that ought to be conſidered. The Act for raiſing 1,260,000 *l.* by 18 Months Aſſeſſment, did not paſs 'till the 20th

of *December* 1661; and was immediately assigned away to discharge the Money, which the King had borrowed to pay off the Seamen of the Ships that were discharged in *July* that Year *. Eight Months or more from that Time passed, before a Penny of that Assessment could come in; and two Year's before the whole was due or could be raised; so that if I charge one Years Interest only on this Account, it must be deemed a very moderate Calculation, and yet it amounts to 75,600 *l.*

To come to the Account of the Grants and Disbursements for the Year 1661.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The *By-Stander* states the former at	2,772,952	0	0
I deduct from thence for the Forest of *Dean*,	3000	0	0
More for his Charge of Excise Arrears, for Reasons before alledged,	270,000	0	0
For Charge of collecting 1,260,000 *l.*	21,240	0	0
For Interest of Money borrowed and assigned thereon,	75,600	0	0
For *Cornish* Leafes computed in the Small Branches of the Revenue,	100,000	0	0
For 490 Horse, and 3600 Foot at *Dunkirk* and *Mardike*, &c.	100,000	0	0
For 7040 Seamen necessary for Summer and Winter Guards,	366,080	0	0
For Ordinary of the Navy,	130,000	0	0
For Ordnance for Land and Sea-Service,	72,000	0	0

* See Journals *July* 11, 1661, and *April* 7, 1662.

N. B.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
N. B. There was a War at this Time with the Pirates of *Algiers*, *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Sallee*; and the Earl of *Sandwich* was sent this Year into the *Mediterranean*, the extraordinary Charge of which I do not know; and therefore do not compute, neither now nor in any of the Three Years that this War continued, though we had the like Squadrons employed all the Time.	000,000	0	0
Debt of the Navy for Stores and Seamen, on *Decem.* 29, 1660,	673,720	8	9
More due to Seamen for Six Months, 'till the Ships were paid off in *July* 1661, at 25,000 *l.* a Month,	150,000	0	0
For disbanding the Army and Charges in *Ireland*,	400,000	0	0
	2,351,640	8	9

Deducting this Sum of 2,351,640 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* out of the *By-Stander*'s of 2,772,952 *l*; there remains but 421,311 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* a Sum much too little to answer the constant Charge of the Houshold, and other Expences within the Kingdom: Which I am now to compute.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For the *Houshold*	107,000	0	0
Treasurer of the Chamber	30,000	0	0
N. B. Wardrobe	12,125	0	0

Robes

	l.	s.	d.
Robes	5000	0	0
Works	24,669	0	0
Foreign Miniſters	32,657	0	0
Stables	11,045	0	0
Fees and Salaries	56,495	0	0
Penſions, not during Pleaſure, but by Letters Patent for Lives and Years	150,000	0	0
Band of Penſioners	6000	0	0
Bounties	2768	0	0
Secret Service by the Secretary of State about	7000	0	0
Ditto by Sir *Stephen Fox*, about	10,000	0	0
Privy-Purſe	30,000	0	0
Jewels and Plate	15,740	0	0
Impoſt Bills	3600	0	0
Contingencies	22,403	0	0
Judges	12,000	0	0
Welch Judges	700	0	0
Maſters in *Chancery*	1100	0	0
	540,302	0	0

Beſides what was ſettled on the Queen Mother and the Duke of *York*.

This Calculation is taken from the Accounts, given in to the Houſe of Commons, on *March* 20, and *April* 27, 1689, of the Expences of the the Court and Charges on the Revenue in the Time of King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. the Articles diſtinguiſhed by *Italic* Letters being expreſsly obſerved in the Report to be the Expence in the Time of *Charles* II; and ſomewhat different from what it was in King *James*'s, except that of the Penſions, the Reaſon of which I have mentioned before. To which muſt be added 60,000 *l.* for the

Charge

Charge of the Coronation this Year; and 200,000*l.* a Year for Guards and Garriſons, according to the Report made to the Commons, *April* 5, 1689. Theſe three Sums together, amount to 800,302 *l*; and if out of this Sum we deduct the 421,311 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* remaining of the *By-Stander*'s Calculation as ſtated above, there will be a Deficiency of King *Charles*'s Civil Liſt for the Year 1661, to the Amount of 378,990 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.*

This Deficiency will be much increaſed, by adding what hath not hitherto been computed, but which ought not to be omitted, *viz.* the Charges of the Houſhold, *&c.* for 8 Months of the Reſtoration Year; which being two Thirds of the annual Expence, comes to 360,201 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* as the like Proportion of that of Guards and Garriſons does to 133,333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* beſides ſome other Charges which ought to be allowed in the ſame Proportion, but which as there is no Occaſion, it would be too tedious to enumerate. Only there are two Articles, too conſiderable to be omitted, *viz.* what was due to the Queen Mother, and to the Duke of *York*; the firſt of which had a Jointure of 30,000 *l.* a Year in Crown Lands, and a Penſion of 30,000 *l.* a Year out of the Exchequer *; and the latter (as far as I can judge) about 70,000 *l.* a Year, tho' it was increaſed much afterwards by the Improvement of the Revenue of the Poſt Office. Now a Year and 8 Months due to the Queen Mother for her Penſion, amounts to 50,000 *l.* and to the Duke of *York* for his Revenue, comes to 116,668 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* both Sums making 166,666 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

There is however another Article, which muſt not be omitted, becauſe it was a Part of the public Service abſolutely neceſſary, tho' left unprovided for by the laſt Parliament, after it had been reported to the Houſe by a ſpecial Committee on *Nov.* 12,

* Preſent State of *England*, *A. D.* 1669, *pag.* 311.

1660,

1660, that the Stores were empty both of Victuals and Neceſſaries for the Fleet, and the renewing them will coſt 200,000 *l.* This was a Point which admitted of no Delay. King *Charles* was forced to borrow Money, and engage his Credit to ſupply the Stores; and with what Loſs to himſelf he did it, may be eaſily be imagined, from what Dr. *Davenant*, after obſerving what great Sums have been paid for Intereſt Money, ſays in his *Eſſay on Ways and Means*, p. 41. " that it will be found at the long " Run, that were the King to buy Stores or pay " his Fleet, 700,000 *l.* in ready Money, will go " farther than a Million in Tallies.

Computing, however, this Article barely at 200,000 *l.* this, with the other Sums of 133,333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* 360,201 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* 378,990 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* and 166,666 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Deficiency of the King's Civil Liſt, or Crown Revenue, for the Year 1661, amounts to *One Million, two Hundred thirty-nine Thouſand, one Hundred ninety-two Pounds, eight Shillings and nine Pence.*

I ſhall not repeat here what hath been already obſerved of the vaſt Debts charged on the Revenue, and ordered to be diſcharged by the Votes of the precedent Parliament, the laſt Day of its ſitting: But let every one conſider the miſerable Condition of a private Man involved in Debt: He ſcarce knows where he is; he ſells now one Part of his Eſtate, and then another, to ſtop a Gap, yet finds himſelf ſtill involved, and the Burthen as great as ever, 'till as laſt he parts with the Whole, and is undone without Reſource. This we ſee by daily Experience in private Caſes, and as it is the ſame in the Caſe of Princes, we ſhall not wonder if King *Charles*, ſo loaded with Debts at his firſt Entrance on the Government, was forced to part with his Crown Lands and Fee-Farm Rents, to diſcharge thoſe Parts thereof which were moſt preſſing; and

an equitable Mind will be more apt to pity the unhappy Circumſtances in which that Prince was, without any Fault of his own, engaged by the Iniquities of former Times, (which forced him to thoſe, and other Steps,) for a preſent Relief to his Neceſſities, than to be ſevere in cenſuring his Conduct in thoſe Reſpects.

	l.
I proceed now to the *By-Stander*'s Calculations (*p.* 74.) for the Year 1662; he charges the Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Wine Licences, and ſmall Branches, with Poſt-Office, at	762,952
The Act for an additional Revenue, or Hearth-Money, for half a Year, at	50,000
The Act for Prize-Monies not accompted for	50,000
Ditto, for ordering the Militia, *&c.*	210,000
Sale of *Dunkirk*	250,000
Queen *Catherine*'s Portion	300,000
	1,622,952

How groundleſs ſoever the *By-Stander*'s Complaints of the *Speed* and *Liberality* of this Parliament are, is evident from this very Account of his own drawing. A Vote had paſſed two Years before for ſettling 1,200,000 *l.* a Year on the Crown, as a conſtant ſtanding Revenue; the Funds aſſigned for that Purpoſe, had been found deficient by 300,000 *l.* a Year, and a Vote had paſſed for ſupplying that Deficiency: But all that was done towards it in this Year 1662, was the granting of an additional Revenue, which had it been collected for the whole Year, might have amounted to a Third, but being ſo only for half a Year, did not amount to above a ſixth Part of that Deficiency; ſo that the King,

after ſuffering for the two Years before from a Deficiency at the Rate of 300,000 *l.* a Year, was to be defalked likewiſe 250,000 *l.* for this Year. Such was the *Speed* of that Parliament, very different from what we may obſerve of others in our Days, in the Caſe of more extraordinary Deficiencies.

He computes the Prize Monies at 50,000 *l.* tho' the Protector *Oliver*, and the ſucceeding Uſurpers, were too much preſſed for Money, to let any lie dead, that could be poſſibly got in to ſupply their Occaſions. I am not fond of diſputing any of the *By-Stander*'s Calculations, how ill ſoever they ſeem to be founded, unleſs I am authorized by ſome Fact to make another with more Certainty. In this Caſe I find, that the Convention Parliament had enquired into the Value of theſe Prize-Monies; and a Report being made on *June* 23, 1660, that 41,495 *l.* 5 *s.* $3\frac{1}{4}$, was the Amount thereof, they ordered it to be applied to the Payment of the public Debts. Several Perſons had Orders for Payment on theſe particular Monies; ſo that little Doubt is to be made, but the Receivers, in whoſe Hands they were lodged, had been called to Account, and the greateſt Part thereof paid in the two Years that had paſſed between the Day abovementioned and the Time of this Act; ſo that it ſeems to me a very large Allowance for the Money remaining, to compute it at 20,000 *l.*

As to the 8th Article of 210,000 *l.* which the King, by the 23d Clauſe of the Act 13 and 14 *Car.* 2. *c.* 3. had Power for 3 Years from *June* 24, 1662, to *June* 24, 1665, to levy, by the Lords and Deputies Lieutenants, at the Rate of 70,000 *l.* a Year, for paying the Militia, if he found it neceſſary to raiſe it in a Time of apparent Danger, it ought not to be charged, unleſs the Aſſeſſment had been actually levied; and even in that Caſe it ſhould have been charged in different Years. It is of no Con-

ſequence what the Apprehenſions of any wrong-headed Mortal are on this Subject, but every Man of common Senſe will eaſily ſee the wide Difference between this Act and a *moderate Vote of Credit*; and the People of *England* have ſufficiently felt as great a Difference in their Conſequences, having always paid for the latter, whereas the Power entruſted to King *Charles* was put into ſo good Hands, that it does not appear there ever was a Peny of Money levied, or brought into the *Exchequer*, or the Militia ever raiſed in thoſe three Years; and therefore I take the Liberty of deducting this whole Article, which none but a Perſon drove to his laſt Shifts to ſwell out a Charge, would ever have offered to inſert.

I have already given my Reaſons and Authorities for ſtating the ordinary Diſburſements of each Year, at the Rate I am going to fix for this of 1662; only I deferred producing thoſe which engaged me to compute the Charge of Guards and Garriſons at 200,000 *l.* in Hopes of finding a Paſſage in a Journal, where (if my Memory have not failed me more than uſual) I have ſeen it eſtimated at that Sum: But not readily finding the Place, it will be proper to juſtify this Article by the Number of Guards, *&c.* on Foot, according to the Account given by Dr. *Chamberlain*, in the firſt Edition of the *Preſent State of England*. They conſiſted of 3 Troops, the firſt of 200, the others of 150 Men each; the *Blue* Regiment of Horſe, 500 Men in 8 Troops; the firſt Regiment of Foot Guards, called the King's Regiment, of 1700 Men in 24 Companies; the *Coldſtream*, the Duke of *York*'s, and another Regiment; beſides the Companies neceſſary for the Garriſons in Forts and Caſtles, (which were more numerous then than now) throughout *England*, *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, and the Plantations; and which could not be maintained at a leſs Expence.

It must be observed also that the Queen, tho' she brought a Portion of 300,000 *l.* besides *Tangier* and *Bombay*, brought also a Charge of 40,000 *l.* a Year for her Court, Houshold, and ordinary Revenue; besides 20,000 *l.* a Year more allowed by the King for her Table and Stables, as appears from Dr. *Chamberlain*'s *Present State* before quoted, and the 10th Edition thereof in 1677, *pag.* 192 and 195.

	l.
The *By-Stander* represents the King's Receipts for 1662, at	1,622,952
Deduct thence in the Article of Prize Monies	30,000
——— of the Militia Act	210,000
Disbursements for *Dunkirk*	100,000
Ditto for *Tangier* this Year only	60,000
——— 7040 Seamen for Summer and Winter Guards	366,080
——— Ordinary of the Navy	130,000
——— Ordnance for Land and Sea Service	72,000
——— The King's Houshold, *&c.*	540,302
——— Duke of *York*'s	70,000
——— The Queen Consort	60,000
——— The Queen Mother, besides her Jointure in Land	30,000
——— Charges in *Ireland*	100,000
——— Guards and Garrisons	200,000
	1,968,382

The Aids granted by Parliament, with the King's extraordinary Receipts for *Dunkirk*, and the Queen's Portion, amounting only to 1,622,952 *l.* and the Disbursements to 1,968,382 *l.* the King was a Loser this Year 345,430 *l.* besides the extraordinary Expences he was at for the Queen's bringing over and Recep-

Reception; for the Tranſport-ſervice in ſending a Garriſon to *Tangier*, and carrying over that of *Dunkirk* with *M. de Schomberg* to *Liſbon*, to aſſiſt the King of *Portugal*, (the Maintenance whereof coſt him conſiderably 'till 1668, when Peace was made with *Spain*,) in the War with the Rovers of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, *&c.* all which are Articles of great Expence. In ſhort, let a Man conſider ſeriouſly the King's Situation at this Time, under a Load of Debts, contracted for the public Service, and the ſtrange Backwardneſs of the Parliament to relieve him, or even to make up the Revenue of 1,200,000 *l.* which they had judged neceſſary to ſupport the Dignity of the Crown, and defray the Charges of the Government; and that they had ſtill left a Deficiency of 250,000 *l.* upon it, and he will ceaſe to wonder at the King's being forced to part with *Dunkirk*, to leſſen his Expences, and enable him with leſs Inconvenience to aſſiſt his Brother the King of *Portugal*; for theſe were the Reaſons of that Step, as is evident from the Letters of the *Mareſchal d' Eſtrades*, in which his Majeſty's Neceſſities are repreſented in the livelieſt Colours.

Theſe appear likewiſe ſufficiently in the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Speech, (the fineſt perhaps that ever was made upon Earth,) to the Houſe of Commons in the next Seſſion, which began *Feb.* 18, 166$\frac{2}{3}$, and ended *July* 27, 1663. The firſt Buſineſs which engaged the Attention of the Houſe after their meeting, and which (as appears upon the Journals) took up the greateſt part of their Time, was that of the Crown Revenue. They appointed a ſpecial Committee of the ableſt Members of the Houſe, to examine into the Cuſtoms, the Crown Lands, the Fee-Farm Rents, and every particular Branch of the Revenue; into all Grants and Alienations thereof ſince the Death of King *Charles* I. (for his Son the preſent King had not been ungrateful to his old Friends)

Friends) and into the Charges of collecting, and to Officers in Receipts and Payments thereof: And perhaps there was ſcarce ever made ſo ſtrict an Enquiry. The King took Notice of it in his Speech, which is entered on their Journal of *April* 1, 1663, in theſe Words,. "Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen "of the Houſe of Commons, I am willing to take "this Occaſion to give you my particular Thanks "for your great Kindneſs in taking hold upon an "eaſy Intimation, rather than Invitation from "me, to enter on *the Conſideration of my Revenue.* "It *was kindly done*, and I ſhall never forget it. I "have given *Order*, that you be fully informed of "the true State of it; and then I know you will "do that which is good for me and you."

King *Charles*, with the Sentiments of a King truly *Engliſh*, had given theſe Orders without waiting an Addreſs from the Commons on the Subject; far from being jealous of ſuch an Enquiry, or from apprehending the leaſt Inconvenience from any Diſcoveries it might produce, he invites, he encourages, he aſſiſts them in an Examination, which ought in reaſon to turn in the End as much to his Benefit, as it would be to their Satisfaction. After they had been upon it for ſome Time, the King in his Speech on *June* 12, after telling the Commons, "that they would never find either his Receipts ſo "great, or his Expences ſo exorbitant, as was ima-"gined; and that it would appear by the Ac-"compts, that not one Peny of the Crown Reve-"nue had been diſpoſed of, but on full Delibera-"tion with himſelf, and by his own Order, and "(they would all ſay) for the *Public Service*: For "the moſt diſaffected could not be more unwilling "to pay, than he was to *receive*"; and then acquaints them with the Diſcovery of the Deſign for ſeizing *Dublin* Caſtle, and raiſing an Inſurrection in *Ireland*, and the Neceſſity he lay under of ſending imme-

diately a large Sum of Money to that Country, for paying the Army, and putting the Garrisons in good Order.

The Commons on this Occasion, came the same Day to a Resolution, after a Division (in which there were 111 dissenting Voices against 159,) to give his Majesty a present Supply: And on *June* 19, resolved to raise it by a Subsidy of 4 *s.* in the Pound upon Lands, and 2 *s.* 8 *d.* on Goods, (the old Rates of such Subsidies,) and to name the Commissioners for levying it). A Bill was afterwards brought in for granting the King four of these Subsidies, and confirming 4 of the like Subsidies granted by the Clergy: And it had the Royal Assent on *July* 27. The *By-Stander* has been pleased to pronounce this (*p.* 82.) to be a very strict Land Tax of 4 *s.* in the Pound; and to compute all the Subsidies of both Clergy and Laity at 1,200,000 *l.* 'Tis irksome to be put continually upon observing the Mistakes he falls into, by forming Notions of former Times upon what he sees in the present. Had he known the least of Antiquity, he could never have fallen into so gross a Mistake, unless he did it designedly; since the very Title of the Act (for the Act itself is not printed in any Collection that I have seen of our Statutes, not even in the last, though it well deserved a Place there, as being the last in its kind of this Way of Taxation by Subsidies, at least as to the Clergy,) might have prevented his Mistake, and shewn him it was a Tax in the old Way of Subsidies. Parliaments in that Age were very saving of their own, and their Constituents Money, and made more Difficulty in granting 100,000 *l.* than they do now in giving a Million. We were not then used to a Load of Taxes, the Sense of which is always lessened by their Continuance, even though their Weight and ill Consequence be greater. This Parliament took into their Consideration the Way of

of raising the Supply, with the greatest Ease to themselves; they found that in the old Way of Subsidies, *a real Estate of a Thousand Pounds a Year, was not valued at more than Twenty Pounds* in the Roll; they were desirous to restore this old easy Method of Taxation, " and resolved for the present Sup-', ply, to grant the King four Subsidies of 4 *s.* a " Pound upon Land, and 2 *s.* 8 *d.* upon Goods " *according to the ancient Form.*" Whoever pleases to consult the House of Commons Journal of *June* 22, and 23, 1663, will find this expressly asserted. Thus warranted by no less an Authority than the Commons of *England*, and after having proved before, that an ancient Subsidy produced but 70,000*l.* and one of the Clergy never yielded at the highest above 20,000 *l.* so that four of both, amount but to 360,000 *l.* I make bold to demand of the *By-Stander* a small Abatement of 840,000 *l.* in this Article.

'Twas in this Session, that (as appears from the Journals of *May* 22, and *July* 20,) Sir *John Winter* agreed to accept of 30,000 *l.* for his Lease of the Forest of *Dean*. 'Twas in this likewise that the 60,000 *l.* was granted for Relief of the Indigent Cavalier Officers; which I omitted to take Notice of sooner, though the *By-Stander* hath put it among the Disbursements of 1662; with a Remark *that the Opposition of the Lords and Commons in* 1642, *is in this Act called a barbarous Rebellion, though the Convention justified that first Opposition.* 'Tis incumbent on him to point out the Place, where such a Justification may be found, or else it will be deemed, like his other Remarks and Calculations, to be withour Foundation. For my Part I have read over the Journal of that Convention, and can find no such Thing in it; for though they seem on all Occasions to wave using the shocking Word *Rebellion*; though they censured *Lenthall* for saying *that*

thos

those who first took up Arms against the late King, were as guilty as those who cut off his Head; and therefore thought (as most People naturally do) that the Guilt of the one was not so enormous as that of the other: Yet this is far from justifying, or saying there was no Guilt at all in the first Opposition. On the contrary, I find them on *June* 7, 1660, having their own Conduct in View, resolving by a solemn Act, "*That this House in the Name of themselves*, and of all Commons of *England*, do lay "hold of his Majesty's free and general Pardon, "tendered in his Declaration given under his Sign "Manual, and Privy-Signet at his Court of *Breda*, "*April* $\frac{4}{14}$, with Reservation to except such, as "shall be be excepted by this present Parliament in "the Act of Oblivion. I forgot likewise the last Year to mention 2800 *l.* granted by a Vote of the Commons, on *May* 19, 1662, to *Sarah Gardiners*; which I must therefore bring to the Accompt for the Year 1663, in which probably it was paid.

The *By-Stander* (*pag.* 81.) states the Revenue and Grants of 1663 thus, *viz.*

	l.
Customs and Excise	625,952
Small Branches, Post-Office and Wine-Licences	137,000
Hearth-Tax	100,000
Subsidy Act (*alias* the *By-Stander*'s Land-Tax	1,200,000
	2,062,952
Deduct thence for the last Article	840,000
Add thereto for *Tangier* Garrison	100,000
Charges there this Year toward the Mole and Forts	60,000

For 7040 Seamen for Summer and Winter's Guards	366,080
Ordinary of the Navy	130,000
Ordnance for Land and Sea-Service	72,000
The King's Houſhold, *&c.* Charges on Revenue	540,302
The Duke of *York*'s	70,000
The Queen Conſort's	60,000
The Queen Mother's, beſides her Jointure	30,000
To indigent Cavalier Officers	60,000
To *Sarah Gardiners*	2800
To Sir *John Winter* for Leaſe of *Dean* Foreſt	30,000
Charges in *Ireland*	100,000
Guards and Garriſons in *England* and the Plantations	200,000
	2,661,182

It muſt be obſerved that the War was not only carrying on in *Portugal*, but we had likewiſe a Fleet this Year and the following, in the *Mediterranean*, under Sir *John Lawſon*, to cruize and attack the *Algerines*; that 200 Horſe and 200 Foot, all old Soldiers, were ſent over to reinforce the Garriſon of *Tangier*, which was able before to carry on the War with *Gayland*, and oblige him to raiſe the Siege of that Place; that ſeveral Redoubts were made, a Fort finiſhed before *Peterborough* Town, (which had been built by the Earl of that Name, who firſt took Poſſeſſion of the Place on *Jan.* 30, 1661-2,) and ſeveral others carrying on for the greater Security of the Place; that the Key was alſo finiſhed, and the Mole begun after vaſt Difficulties, Expence and Trouble in hewing Paſſages, and blowing up Rocks in the Sands, in order to lay the Foundation; and that Work, though carried on with continu-

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Application, could not in leſs than three Years more be brought to Perfection; and that as the Garriſon was almoſt all the Time it continued in our Hands very ſtrong, and perpetually at War with *Gayland* till his Death, and with the *Moors* afterwards, it could not coſt in Pay, Stores and Munitions, leſs than 100,000 *l.* a Year; at which Rate I have computed it, and put for the Mole and Forts 60,000 *l.* which laſt the *By-Stander* himſelf allows, and by the Addition of 40,000 *l.* Tranſport Service, makes up the 160,000 *l.* which I charge. Upon the whole, if the Miſtake of 840,000 *l.* be deducted both out of the Charge and Diſcharge, the firſt will be reduced to 1,222, 952 *l.* and the latter to 1,821,182 *l.* and let it be computed either in this Way, or as ſtated above, the Revenue was not able to diſcharge the Public Services of this Year, by the Sum of 598,230 *l.* This with the Deficiency of 1,239,192 *l.* 18 *s.* 9 *d.* for 1661, and of 345,430 *l.* for 1662; makes the Deficiencies of thoſe Three Years amount to *two Millions, one Hundred eighty-two Thouſand, eight Hundred, fifty-two Pounds, Eight Shillings and Ninepence:* Beſides the vaſt Loads of old Debts in Rump-Times, charged on the Revenue by the Convention Parliament, the laſt Day of their ſitting, as mentioned before; beſides likewiſe ſeveral other Articles of Expence, which though I took Notice of, I have not offered to compute; and others which I have not ſo much as mentioned, particularly the extraordinary Expence of the Queen of *Bohemia*'s coming over here in 1660 with her Children, and their Reſidence here 'till her Death; the conſtant Charge of the Mint, which lay wholly upon the Crown all the Reign of King *Charles*; but is ſince the Revolution borne by the Nation at the Expence of 15,000 *l.* a Year, and others that might be reckoned, were there any Occaſion.

I cannot conceive why this Parliament ſhould be called a *Tory Parliament*, unleſs on Account of its Affection to the Church of *England*, the Conſtitution whereof it reſtored; nor why it ſhould be accuſed of a Forwardneſs to *gorge* the King, when after looking over all the Journals of their Proceedings, I can't find the leaſt Colour or Pretence for ſuch a Charge; which could be ſuggeſted at firſt by nothing but a Spirit of Calumny, though it hath paſſed uncontrouled by the Confidence with which the Falſhood was propagated; and through the Lazineſs of the World, in not examining into the Truth of the Matter. The *By-Stander* hath thought fit to adopt it for his own: let him produce then, if he can, his Grounds for what I can't help calling an *impudent Calumny*. The Parliament in queſtion, ſeem plainly to me, to have all the Jealouſies which thoſe of former Ages, and even of that Age uſed to entertain of the Power of the Crown, and to dread nothing ſo much as to render it Independent, and to put it in a Condition of ſubſiſting, without a continual Application for their Help to ſupport its Dignity: And it is impoſſible to account for their Conduct towards it on any other Principle. The Convention Parliament, which being moſtly *Presbyterian*, the *By-Stander* will not care to accuſe in any Reſpect, and which certainly was no *gorging* one, had judged 1,200,000 *l.* a Year neceſſary to ſupport the Charges of the Government and the Public Services of the Nation. They had by a Vote engaged themſelves to make up that Revenue to the King, who had purchaſed it dearly, by giving up ſo many Millions of his Dues, that the bare Intereſt thereof would have yielded a better Income than they propoſed to ſettle. They did not however, beſides the hereditary Exciſe in lieu of his Wards and Tenures, and the uſual Cuſtom of Tonage and Poundage, ſettle any thing upon him but the Wine Licences

Licences and Post-Office; which, with the Excise, the *By-Stander* values at the most at 302,952 *l.* a Year; and all these with the Customs at 652,952 *l.* a Year; and with the *small* Branches of his Majesty's own Revenue, they would amount in all to 782,952 *l.* a Year. This was all that they gave or computed for that constant Revenue; so that there was a Deficiency of 417,048 *l.* which ought to have been made good by the succeeding Parliament. This last, tho' a Church of *England* one, proceeded upon the Plan of the former, as to the *Quantum* of the Revenue, and to guard effectually against the Crown's making any Advantage by such a Settlement when it came to be made, they examined by special Committees into every, even the smallest, Articles of the Revenue; and took particular Care in every Article thereof (one only excepted) to make their Estimates too high, much above what the King was able to make or farm them at afterwards, tho' they were set (according to the Resolution of the Commons *May* 12, 1663.) to the highest Bidder. This was done in order to lessen the Deficiency; which by this Artifice was reduced from the abovementioned Sum to 300,000 *l.* that is 117,648 *l.* lower than it was in reality.

It was necessary to supply this Deficiency; they set about it with the worst Grace in Nature; with a Slowness that is really amazing, and that hath in it such an Air of Unwillingness, as might naturally enough tempt the King to be jealous of their Designs. The Year 1661 passed without any Thing done towards it on their Part; and they had sate two Months of the next, without being a Jot more advanced; at last they gave the Hearth Tax, which brought in 50,000 *l.* that Year, and 100,000 *l.* the Year following. The *By-Stander* says, *p.* 85. that upon a new Regulation in 1664, it brought in from that Time 160,000 *l.* a Year: But even supposing

poſing that it did ſo, there was ſtill a Deficiency of 257,048 *l.* which remained for many Years afterwards, even till 1670, before any additional Aid was granted to ſupply this Defect of the Revenue. Had the Funds been granted at firſt to anſwer the Revenue as propoſed and voted, it would not have been ſufficient to defray the public Charges: But deficient to ſo prodigious a Degree, as I have ſhewn it was for the firſt 3 or 4 Years after the Reſtoration, and ſo conſiderably as it was even after the Year 1664; it was no Wonder if King *Charles* was forced to ſell the Crown-Lands and the Fee-Farm Rents, to enable him to ſubſiſt and carry on the Government; which poſſibly was what the Parliament aimed at, in letting him labour under ſuch a Deficiency, in order to reduce the Crown to a State of continual Dependance on their good Will. Thus they drew him into Neceſſities which, on their Neglect or Refuſal of relieving them, forced him to hearken to the Overtures mentioned in Mr. *Montague*'s Letters to the Duke of *Leeds*, (which yet I do not find to be performed,) and to ſome other Steps which I ſhall have Occaſion to mention hereafter. The terrible Inconveniences which King *Charles* ſuffered, by having the Expences of the Civil Government, blended with thoſe for the public Services of the Nation, were ſo evident to King *William*, a wiſe Prince, who knew the Affairs of his Uncle's Reign perfectly well, that he deſired to have his Civil Liſt ſettled a-part, and the public Services provided for by the Nation. The Convention Parliament, which raiſed him to the Throne, was entirely devoted to his Intereſt, and thought they could not do enough for one whom they conſidered as their Deliverer. It behoved them to make the Preſent worth the having, and that the Crown might ſit eaſy on his Head, they eaſily came into the Reſolution of ſettling a Civil Liſt, free from Annuities

ties of above 230,000 *l.* to the Goldſmiths and others, that incumbered it in K. *Charles*'s Time, and diſtinct likewiſe from all the public Services which concerned the Nation. The *By-Stander* may dream as uſual, and for his own Views vaunt, if he pleaſes, of the fine Things, which he fancies to flow from this Separation of the Charges of the Civil Liſt and thoſe of the Public; but whoever conſiders the Complexion and Proceedings of that Convention, will be apt to think, that the Service of the Prince had at leaſt as great an Hand in it, as any View for the Benefit of the Nation.

The *By-Stander* has not thought fit either to carry on his Enquiries into the Crown Revenue, or to publiſh the Reſult of them, further than the End of 1663: He had doubtleſs his Reaſons for ſtoping Short in an Enquiry, which he could not eaſily wreſt to his Purpoſe. It is however proper to conſider what Sums of Money were given in the reſt of King *Charles*'s Reign. Now the Parliament met in the next Year on *March* 21, and ſate 'till *May* 17, 1664; but paſſed no Money-Bill, except that abovementioned for the Regulation of Hearth-Money may be ſo ſtiled. As ſoon as they met, they had appointed a ſpecial Committee to conſider how the Trade of the Nation might be improved, and upon a Report from it on *April* 21, they came to a Reſolution, that the Indignities done his Majeſty by the *Dutch*, who had invaded his Rights in *India*, *Africa*, and elſewhere, and the Injuries they had done our Merchants, were the greateſt Obſtruction to our foreign Trade. They engaged the Lords likewiſe on *April* 26, to join with them in an Addreſs to the King, that he would take ſome ſpeedy and effectual Courſe for Redreſs thereof, declaring that they would, in the Proſecution thereof, aſſiſt him with their Lives and Fortunes againſt all Oppoſition whatever. Sir *G. Downing* was hereupon diſpatched to *Holland*,

Hollaud, to demand Satisfaction for Depredations on our Merchants, to the Value of 800,000 *l*; which was not only refuſed, but *de Ruyter* was ſent to attack *Barbadoes*, and deſtroy our Factories on the Coaſt of *Africa*. Thus began a War, for which the King having no Supply granted as yet, was forced in the Beginning of *June* to borrow 100,000 *l.* of the City of *London*, to carry on the neceſſary Preparations. He had at this Time a Fleet under Sir *J. Lawſon* in the *Mediterranean*, and was now forced to fit out two others under Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Sandwich*; which being joined, ſet ſail from *Portſmouth* in *November*, under the Command of the Duke of *York*, and returned in the Beginning of the following Month with 130 *Dutch* Prizes.

The Parliament met again on *November* 4, thanked the City for their Loan to the King; and on *Feb.* 3, 166$\frac{4}{5}$, paſſed a Land-Tax Bill for 2,477,500 *l.* to be levied in 3 Years, by 12 quarterly Payments, to defray the Charges of the War; but on a Petition of ſome Merchants and others for the Payment of old Debts contracted before 1660, to the Amount of 143,422 *l.* 8 *s.* 3 *d.* they paſſed alſo on *Jan.* 28, a Vote for the Payment thereof. The Seſſion ended in the Beginning of *March*, and on the 23d of that Month, the Duke of *York* left *London*, in order to take upon him the Command of the Fleet, which was the fineſt that ever *England* fitted out ſince it was a Nation. It conſiſted of an hundred Men of War; and coming, on *June* 3, to an Engagement with the *Dutch* Fleet, which was ſtill more numerous, gained a glorious Victory; 30 of the Enemy's Ships being taken, ſunk, or deſtroyed with the Loſs of 8000 of their Seamen; and had the Duke of *York*'s Orders been followed, very few of their Number would have eſcaped. Our Fleet afterwards inſulted the Coaſt of *Holland*, waiting for the Return of their *Eaſt-India* and other Fleets, of

which they took 8 Men of War, and about 30 Merchant-men; 'till a Storm diſperſing them in *September*, our Ships returned into Harbour.

Beſides this naval Armament, the King was at a very great Expence in Subſidies to the Biſhop of *Munſter*; who invading the *Dutch* by Land, put them to great Diſtreſs, 'till *France* and *Denmark* declaring in favour of *Holland*, he was forced to ſubmit to a Peace. The Parliament meeting in *October* 1665, at *Oxford*, granted 1,250,000 *l.* more for the Charge of the War, which enabled the King to fit out a new Fleet early in the Spring. Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle* took upon them the Command of it in *April*; but the former upon falſe Intelligence, parting with a Squadron to meet and intercept the *French* Fleet, which was expected to join the *Hollanders*, the latter was in the Beginning of *June* attacked by the *Dutch* Fleet, above double his Number: Yet, notwithſtanding this Diſadvantage, he fought them bravely for 3 Days together, and Prince *Rupert* coming up the fourth, the *Dutch* were forced to fly to their own Coaſts. As the Duke of *Albemarle*'s Squadron had ſuffered much in this Engagement, the King, as ſoon as the Ships came into Port, went himſelf to view their Condition, and take care for their ſpeedy Reparation. Such Diligence was uſed in this Reſpect, that the two Admirals put to Sea again on *July* 19, and in a few Days gained another Victory over the *Dutch*, deſtroying 20 of their Men of War, with 4 of their Admirals and 4000 Officers and Soldiers, and driving the reſt into their Harbours. This was followed with the Attempt upon *Ulye*, in which two Men of War, and 150 of their Merchant-men, were deſtroyed. The *Dutch* put to Sea again in *September*, but being prevented by Prince *Rupert* from executing their Deſign of joining the *French* Squadron, were glad to retreat into their Ports.

The Parliament meeting this Year (1666) in *September*, both Houſes joined in an Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty, for his great Care in the Management of the War, with Aſſurances that they would give him Supplies proportionable to his preſent Occaſions. The Commons examined nicely into all Accompts, and appointed a ſpecial Committee to inſpect the Books of the Ordnance, the Stores, and the Navy; and at laſt reſolved to give the King 500,000 *l.* by a Poll, and 1,256,347 *l.* 13 *s.* 10 *d.* by monthly Aſſeſſments. Poll-Bills (as Dr. *Davenant* obſerves) ſeldom come up to their Eſtimates; but how this anſwered in particular, I have not been able to find: Both theſe Sums however, making together 1,756,347 *l.* 13 *s.* 10 *d.* are what the *By-Stander* (*p.* 85.) calls 1,800,000 *l.* which he charges the King with pocketing; and then aſcribes to it the Diſaſter of *Chatham*.

As to the Money-Bills they are not printed; but by what I can from the Journals of the Commons on *Sept.* 26, *Oct.* 1, 11, 12. obſerve of the Deſign of them, they ſeem rather intended to defray paſt Charges, than provide for future ones; becauſe the *Quantum* of the Supply was reſolved on the laſt of thoſe Days, after a ſtrict Examination into thoſe paſt Charges; and the firſt Money-Bill for the War of 2,477,500 *l.* being not to be raiſed under 3 Years, there was ſtill a Million of it that was not as yet either due or collected; and whoever conſiders that the War had been carrying on againſt the *Dutch* alone in 1664 and 1665, and againſt the united Powers of *France*, *Holland*, and *Denmark* in 1666, and what extraordinary naval Armaments the King was forced to make in thoſe Years, what bloody Engagements there had been at Sea, what an infinite Quantity of Stores, *&c.* muſt be ſpent in thoſe Engagements, and in repairing of the Damages ſuſtained therein, beſides the Subſidies which the King ha

had furniſhed to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, will hardly think that the 3 Supplies of 2,477,500 *l.* 1,250,000 *l.* and 1,756,347 *l.* 13 *s.* 10 *d.* making together 5,483,847 *l.* 13 *s.* 10 *d.* were more than ſufficient for thoſe Expences, ſince the bare Pay of 40,000 Seamen, allowed ordinarily for Wars againſt weaker and leſs active maritime Powers, does, in 3 Years Time, amount to above 800,000 *l.* more than that Sum. Whatever the Expences were, when the Parliament met on *October* 10, 1667, the King ordered " Accompts of all the Money they had given to be " laid before them, and recommended to them to " examine them as they pleaſed, and with all the " Strictneſs imaginable; aſſuring them he would be " ſo far from ſcreening any, that he would leave e- " very one to ſtand or fall according to his own In- " nocency or Guilt; and he ſhould be as ready to " redreſs, as they to repreſent, any Grievance that " they diſcovered".

The Commons, upon this Invitation from the King, not only paſſed an Act, appointing Commiſſioners to examine into the Accompts of all Monies that had been given for 4 or 5 Years paſt, but examined themſelves with all poſſible Strictneſs into every Years Conduct of the War, and into every Step that had proved unlucky in the Courſe thereof, particularly the not obſerving the Duke of *York*'s Orders in his Purſuit of the *Dutch* Fleet in 1664; the Separation of the Duke of *Albemarle*'s and Prince *Rupert*'s Squadrons in 1666; and the Affair of *Chatham* in 1667. With regard to this laſt, it appears upon the Journal of *Oct.* 31, 1667, that the King was ſo far from pocketing any Money, " that he had actually at the Time of that Affair " 18,000 Seamen aboard his Fleet, which would " have been able to have fought the *Dutch*, if it had " been united; but for want of good Intelligence " of the Motions and Deſigns of the Enemy, and

" in Confidence of the Peace which the *Engliſh* " Plenipotentiaries were treating at *Breda*, with a " full Aſſurance of its being ſoon concluded, ſince " the States were alarmed at the *French* King's claim- " ing *Brabant* and invading the Low Countries, " the Ships had been allowed to convoy Merchant- " men for the Security of Trade; and by this " Means being diſperſed, there was not a ſufficient " Fleet at the Mouth of the *Thames* to fight the " *Dutch* Fleet, when it firſt entered the River". But " when about three Weeks after they had quitted it, they entered it a ſecond Time, there was a Squadron under the Command of Sir *Edw. Sprague* ready to oppoſe them, which deſtroyed 2 or 3 of their Men of War, and engaged them for 3 Days, 'till Sir *Joſeph Jordan* coming up on the fourth with 20 freſh Ships, the *Dutch* made all the Sail they could out of the River, being purſued by our Fleet in their Retreat; (as is related in the *Gazettes*, N°. 176 and 177.) We had likewiſe, at the very Time the *Dutch* made their Attempt on *Chatham*, another Squadron of Men of War in the *Weſt-Indies*, under the Command of Sir *John Harman*, who deſtroyed a *French* Fleet of 12 Men of War, and as many other Veſſels of leſs Force, in the Road of *Martinico*. All the *Gazettes* too of that Time, are full of Advertiſements for the regular Payments of the Loans and Aſſignments on the two Acts, which were given to raiſe the very 1,800,000 *l.* which the *By-Stander*, with an unparallelled Aſſurance, pretends to have been pocketed.

The Houſe of Commons well knew the falſhood of this Charge; they had by ſpecial Committees, and afterwards in the Houſe itſelf, examined into all the Conduct of the War, and all the Receipts and Iſſues, as well of the Treaſury of the Navy, as of the *Exechequer*; they had expelled Mr. *Brunker* for his cauſing the Fleet to ſlacken Sail contrary to the Duke of *York*'s Orders in 1664; they had

impeached Commiſſioner *Pett*, for the Neglect of making the Fortifications, which the King himſelf had marked out at *Sheerneſs*, the *February* before the Affair of *Chatham*, and ordered to be made forthwith; (which had it been done would have prevented that Diſaſter,) for his ſuffering the 1000 Men employed in the Dock, to run away at the Approach of the *Dutch*, who could have done nothing, if thoſe Men had been on the Spot, when the Duke of *Albemarle* came down; and for other Parts of his Conduct. They had inquired into all the Miſmanagements of the Navy and Exchequer, and Officers thereof: but ſeem to have found none, except in the Commiſſioners of the Navy, diſcharging Seamen when Ships come in by Tickets without Pay, and giving undue Preference in the Payment of thoſe Tickets to Favourites, whereby the Seamen were forced to ſell them at Diſcount to their Officers and Agents; a Grievance, which the King himſelf had eight Months before (ſee *Gazette* N°. 168) taken particular Care to remedy. They had by a ſpecial Committee taken an Account of the Produce of the Poll-Bill, and of the Aſſignments made and Money regiſtred on the Monthly Aſſeſſments for raiſing the very 1,800,000 *l.* and of the particular Application thereof towards the War, according to the Intent of Parliament, between *Michaelmas* 1666, and *Michaelmas* 1667: And yet after all theſe Inquiries, and almoſt the very Moment after they had finiſhed the laſt, being thereby convinced of the right Application of their Money, and the Defectiveneſs thereof to anſwer the Expences of the War, they voted 300,000 *l.* for a further Supply. This appears from the whole Tenor of the Journals of this Seſſion, particularly of *Oct.* 21, 26, 31; *Dec.* 16, *Feb.* 14, 21, and *March* 6, 1667; on which laſt Day they reſolved on the Supply, which was to be raiſed by an Impoſt on Wines, Brandies,

Brandies and Spirits sold by Retail for two Years, from *June* 24, 1668, to *June* 24, 1670; the Accompts of all Money levied or secured thereon, to be laid before the Commissioners, then first appointed by Act of Parliament, to examine Accompts. (See Acts 20 *Car.* II. *c.* 1 and 3.)

These Commissioners found upon Examination the Truth of what the King assured his Parliament, at the opening of the next Session, on *Oct.* 19. 1669; "That all the Money they had ever given "for the Navy or the War, had been employed "accordingly, and no Part thereof diverted to any "other Use whatever." They delivered their Report to the House, on *Oct.* 26, and three Days after they were ordered to draw up a State of the Accompt, of what Money had been received for the Maintenance of the War, and what had been disburſed for the same, with the Ballance thereon. This Ballance was reported by the Commissioners, on *Nov.* 4, and read in the House, which after a mature Consideration thereof, thought fit to make good the Ballance; and on *Nov.* 26, resolved to grant the King an Aid of 400,000*l.* to be raised, (as they determined on *Dec.* 2.) by an Additional Impost on Wines and *French* Linen; though it seems afterwards they left out Linen, and only charged Wines and Vinegar, by the Act of 22 *Car.* II. *c.* 3. This whole Proceeding is so clear a Vindication of the King from the *By-Stander*'s infamous Charge of pocketing the Public Money, that the Reader will thence learn, what little Stress is to be laid on any of his Accounts, and what little Credit he deserves in any Thing he advanceth.

Of a Piece with other of this Writer's Relations, is, what he says, *pag.* 87. of *almost Three Millions being granted the King for the Support of the Triple Alliance*; drawing in a Speech which he fathers upon Lord *Lucas*, to countenance the Falshood. I remember to have read

read of a Printer's being ſome three or four Years after this Time, convicted of publiſhing a Libel, entitled, *The Speech of a noble Peer*, &c. which I then took to be the Speech in queſtion, and which (if my Memory do not fail me) is alſo printed in the Appendix to *Villers* Duke of *Buckingham's* Works; but I had not Time to examine particularly the Fact, nor do I recollect at preſent in what New's-Papers of the Time I read the Paſſage. I mean this for his Lordſhip's Vindication; for I think it impoſſible for him to make ſuch a Speech, and his Honour muſt ſuffer, were there any Truth in the *By-Stander's* Repreſentation of the Matter. The Triple Alliance was concluded and ſigned, on *Jan.* 23, 1667-8; it ſaved *Flanders* and produced a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, at the latter End of *April* following. The Parliament was ſitting all that Time: The King aſked them no Aid on that Account, nor did they grant him any. The only Money-Bill that paſſed, was what I have mentioned above, as deſigned to ſupply the Deficiency of former Supplies for the War, *viz.* The Act *for raiſing* 310,000 l. *by an Impoſition on Wine and Spirits ſold by Retail* for two Years, which had the Royal Aſſent the laſt Day of the Seſſion, *May* 9, 1668, (ſee *Gazette*, N°. 259. If the *By-Stander* has miſtaken 300,000 *l.* for Three Millions, 'tis an Overſight a little too groſs to be eaſily excuſed; eſpecially ſince ſuch Miſtakes ſeems to grow familiar to him. I have already taken Notice of one like this, *viz.* in the Article of the Expence of the Navy, where inſtead of 500,000 *l.* he only put down 50,000 *l.*

A Year and above four Months paſſed before there was another Seſſion of Parliment; but it meeting on *Oct.* 19, 1669, and the Commiſſioners of Accompts having made their Report of the Money given, received and diſburſed for the War, and the Ballance

Ballance remaining thereon, the Commons to make it up, voted (as has been obſerved before) a Supply of 400,000*l.* to be raiſed by a further Impoſt on Wines for a Term of Years, one Year of which was to reimburſe the Duke of *York* the Loſs, he would ſuſtain by this and the late Act in his Revenue of Wine-Licences. The Seſſion ended on *April* 11, and this was the only Money-Bill paſſed in it; for it ſeems the Act of 22 *Car.* II. *c.* 6. *for advancing the Sale of Fee-Farm Rents* was not conſidered as ſuch, ſince it took its Riſe in the Houſe of Lords, and was ſent by them on *April* 4, to the Commons, who agreeing thereto, it had the Royal Aſſent, with the other on *April* 11, 1670.

The *By-Stander*, *pag.* 88. pretends to take from Mr. *Coke* his Accompt of the Value ariſing from the Sale of theſe *Fee-Farm Rents*, which he ſtiles *the Sale of Crown-Lands*, though there is not in the Act a Syllable about *Lands*, unleſs in an Exception in the 2d Clauſe, whereby the King is reſtrained from ſelling any *Quit-Rents and Copyhold-Rents ſtanding in Charge, as Parcel of or belonging to any Manor.* The ſame Clauſe excepts all Tenths, Firſt-Fruits and Rents reſerved *Nomine Decimæ*, as the next does all Rents reſerved upon Leaſes, the Reverſion whereof was in the King, and incident to ſuch Reverſion. It provides likewiſe that ſuch of theſe Rents as uſed to be paid to Grammar-Schools, Hoſpitals, or the like Uſes, ſhould ſtill continue to be paid as uſual. The Preamble ſhews it was deſigned chiefly, if not ſolely, for the Sale of the Fee-Farm Rents in the Dutchies of *Lancaſter* and *Cornwall*; and to give the Purchaſers ſome ſpecial Privileges, which they could not have without Act of Parliament, that his Majeſty might be the better enabled to pay ſome Debts which he owed at Intereſt, and had preſſing Reaſons to diſcharge. But ſuppoſing it extended to all Fee-Farm Rents; if we conſider

conſider how many of thoſe Rents had been alienated by Grants to the Earl of *Sandwich* and others; what Penſions had been granted on them; and what were left unſold, (as others, beſides all thoſe of Queen *Catherine*'s Jointure were) the King can't well be thought to raiſe a fourth Part of what the *By-Stander* computes, or at moſt above 400,000 *l.* by this Sale, or that even this Sum was got in otherwiſe than in the Courſe of ſeveral Years; for the Commiſſion iſſued on this Occaſion laſted all his Reign, and the Commiſſioners were after the Revolution, called upon by the Houſe of Commons, to give an Account of what Rents they had ſold, and what ſtill remained in the Hands of the Crown; which they did, though their Report is not entered upon the Journal.

The Sale of the Crown Lands was not (as the *By-Stander* ſays, *pag.* 88, 89.) *the Act and Deed of a Tory Parliament*; the Act in queſtion gave no Authority for the Sale of any Lands, and even excepted all Quit and Copyhold Rents belonging to Manors, and all Rents reſerved upon Eſtates in Reverſion to the Crown. This ſhews the Falſhood of that Writer's Account of this Matter: And if the Blame of the Sale of the Fee-Farm Rents is to be laid upon any Body, it ought to be charged to the Account of theſe great Patriots and pretended Aſſertors of Liberty, who after plundering the Nation for 20 Years together, between 1640 and 1660, and draining it in that Time of above 95 Millions; left the State at the Reſtoration involved in Debts; which being confirmed by the Convention Parliament, and left (without any Proviſion to pay them) as a Burthen upon the Crown, put King *Charles* under thoſe unhappy Neceſſities, which forced him to part with his own private Patrimony, and what was left of the ancient Inheritance of the Crown in it's landed Property. Would to God this were

the only ill Conſequence that we ſtill ſuffer from the Meaſures of the pretended Patriots of thoſe Days! The Nation would then be in a much richer and happier Condition than it feels itſelf at preſent.

As for his Charges, *pag.* 87, 88. of a conſtant ordinary Penſion, and of Bribes from *France*; "particularly 700,000*l.* for the 2d *Dutch* War, and "about as much more for refuſing to paſs the Bill "of Excluſion;" he ſeems to have borrowed them from the ſcandalous and ſeditious Libels, which were publiſhed at the latter End of King *Charles*'s Reign, for the better carrying on the Deſigns then formed for ſubverting our Conſtitution, and throwing the Nation into the ſame State of Anarchy and Confuſion, it had been ſo lately delivered from by the King's happy Reſtoration. He will be at a Loſs to produce any better Authority for his Repreſentation thereof. The Letters of *Mareſchal D'Eſtrades* from 1662 to 1668, ſhew plainly enough, that the *Dutch* were all that Time Penſioners of *France*; but where are the Letters and Memoirs, that ſay any Thing like it of King *Charles*, till the Time of the ſecond *Dutch* War; when in Conſequence of an Alliance with *France*, he was to aſſiſt that Crown with Sea and Land-Forces, and to receive from it ſuch Subſidies towards thoſe Charges, as are uſually ſtipulated between one Prince and other. The Duke of *Leeds*'s Letters inform us of this Fact, and that *Lewis* XIV. paid the firſt Year, not 700,000*l.* (as the *By-Stander* ſays) but Three Millions of Livres, or 240,000*l.* towards the Expence of the Fleet, which the King was to put to Sea, and a Third Part of that Sum for ſome Years afterwards. This was indeed a very different kind of Bargain, from what we have been uſed to make of late Years; having always in the Wars ſince the Revolution, (even in ſuch where we were not Principals) been forced to pay Subſidies, inſtead of receiving them

from

from our Allies. It was for a valuable Consideration, and in Virtue of a Treaty, such as the same *French* Monarch had made with the Crown of *Sweden*, the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Hanover*, and other Princes; and such as we have since made with the Kings of *Denmark*, *Sardinia*, &c. without any Reproach to those Princes. Nor was it indeed any to the King in the Opinion of all reasonable Persons; but there were Men in those Days who had the *By-Stander*'s Talents for misrepresenting Matters, and, like him, were not ashamed of exercising them upon this Subject. King *Charles* who had no Reason to conceal his own Conduct, or obstruct a Parliament's Enquiry into that of his Ministers; and who was ever ready to give his People all the Satisfaction on those Heads that they could desire in Reason, did not stay to be addressed for laying his Treaties with *France*, before the two Houses; but taking Notice of the Misrepresentations made thereof, told them in his Speech at their Meeting, on *Jan.* 7, 1673. "That he had ordered those "Treaties, and all the Articles thereof *without the* "*least Reserve*, to be shewn to a small Committee "of both Houses, who might report the true "Scope of them to each House, assuring them "further, that there was no other Treaty with "*France*, either before or since, not already print-"ed, which should not be made known."

These Treaties gave no Offence, and whatever Subsidies were paid in Consequence thereof during the War, the King did not think that such a Performance of Stipulations put him under any new Obligation; nor did it hinder him from exerting himself with the Vigour already mentioned for the saving of *Flanders*, and procuring the *Dutch* a better Peace than they insisted on themselves at *Nimeguen*. And that there was not a Farthing ever paid afterwards, we have the express Testimony of the

Duke of *Leeds*, in his *Letters*, *p.* 103; ſo that what the *By-Stander* ſuggeſts of the *French* Court's giving 700,000 *l.* to the King, for refuſing to paſs the Bill of Excluſion, is an utter Falſhood. That Bill was ſo evidently for the Intereſt of *France*, that the *French* Court would never be at any Expence to oppoſe it; they were more inclined to diſpoſe of their Money among the great Sticklers for the Bill, who took their Meaſures in concert with M. *Bacillon* the *French* Embaſſador, as we learn from the ſaid *Letters*. There is in the Memoirs of the Duke of *York*, (who uſed every Night to put down in writing the moſt conſiderable Paſſages of the Day paſſed,) a particular Hiſtory of that Bill, in which all the Intrigues of the Court, and Turns of Affairs in thoſe Times, are explained in the cleareſt and moſt convincing Manner; and in which the King's Diſtreſſes at that Time are fully repreſented. Theſe Diſtreſſes filled his Royal Highneſs with terrible Apprehenſions about the King's Conſtancy in that Affair: And it behoved him to get them removed at any Rate if poſſible; but it is plain from his Memoirs, that no Help came from *France* on that Account, and that the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*, and the *French* Agents and Penſioners here, did all that they could to promote that Bill. The King beſt explains his own Motives for rejecting it, in the Declaration which on *April* 8, 1681, he publiſhed upon the Diſſolution of the two laſt Parliaments, that would have forced it upon him, without hearkening to the Meaſures he propoſed for the Security of our Religion and Liberties, by providing for the Preſentation to Church Promotions in the Gift of the Crown, and the making of Juſtices of Peace in ſuch a manner, that none but pious and learned, or ſincere Proteſtants ſhould be admitted to either of thoſe Truſts; and by enacting that no *Privy Counſellor* or *Judge*, no *Lord* or *Deputy Lieutenant*, or *Officer*

ficer of the Navy, ſhould be put in or diſplaced, but by Authority of Parliament. Had this Offer of putting the principal Branches, both of the civil and military Authority into the Hands of the Repreſentatives of the Nation, been accepted, there would have been no room left for the People to dread the Power of the Crown, or have any Apprehenſions of their Liberties; and yet the King was ready to come into any other reaſonable Expedient that they would propoſe. But nothing would ſatisfy the Party which prevailed in thoſe two Parliaments, beſides the Bill of Excluſion; which his Majeſty declared "he could not paſs, as not being "conſiſtent either with Juſtice or the Good of the "Kingdom; as what might occaſion another civil "War, and make a Standing Army neceſſary for "the Preſervation of the Government." It was with regard to another Inſtance of King *Charles*'s Sagacity, that the Duke of *Leeds* ſays, in the Introduction to his Letters before quoted, *that he had lived to find Kings to be true Prophets as well as Kings.*

To return from this Digreſſion, which the *By-Stander*'s Miſrepreſentations made neceſſary. The Sale of the Fee-Farm Rents was but a ſmall and ſlow Relief to his Majeſty; whoſe Difficulties are very clearly repreſented by the Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, in his Speech of *Feb.* 14, $16\frac{69}{70}$, to the Parliament. It appears hence, "that the Houſe of Commons "had made no Proviſion for the Preparations to-"wards the War, which yet were to be deemed "a neceſſary Part thereof, and a great Part of the "King's own Revenue, to many hundred thouſands "of Pounds, had been employed and ſwallowed "up in thoſe Charges; that his Majeſty had, in "the Conſequences of the War, been likewiſe put "to great Expences in repairing the Hulls of Ships, "and putting his Navy into ſuch Condition as it

"was

" was in before the War begun; that the War it-
" ſelf had much outgone the Supplies that had
" been given towards it, tho' no Part of the Mo-
" ney deſigned for it had been diverted to any o-
" ther Uſe, as had been found upon Examination;
" and as his Majeſty had entered into it, not out
" of any Inclination or Appetite of his own, but
" purely upon their Advice and the Promiſe of their
" Aſſiſtance, he hoped that they would not leave
" him under the Burthen of this Debt, but relieve
" him from it, and the ill Conſequences which
" the Continuance thereof might draw upon all his
" Affairs".

The Difficulties the King was in, and the ill Conſequences thereof, were indeed apparent enough. The Crown-Revenue, as firſt voted, was not equal to the conſtant ordinary Charges of the Government; Funds had not been given to make it up agreeable to the Vote, there having been a Deficiency for the firſt 3 Years of at leaſt 400,000 *l.* a Year, and even after the Hearth-money was granted and regulated in 1664, of about 260,000 *l.* a Year. The inevitable Effects of the War, and other Calamities which Providence had brought on the Nation, had occaſioned ſo great a Diminution of this Revenue, that the Loſs the King ſuſtained only in 3 Branches of it, the Cuſtoms, Exciſe, and Hearth-money, by reaſon of the War, the Plague, and the Fire of *London*, amounted to about 600,000 *l.* beſides all other Accidents and Diſadvantages.

The Commons, entering upon the Conſideration of theſe Things, proceeded with their uſual Slowneſs, and in the regular Methods, examining by their Commiſſioners of Accompts into the Value of Prizes, and by a ſpecial Committee into the Liſt of his Majeſty's Debts at Intereſt, the Eſtimates of the Charge of the Navy, and the Accompts delivered in either by the Treaſurer thereof,

or

or by the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury. After conſidering the Reports on theſe Subjects, they at laſt reſolved on *Nov.* 11, 1670, to lay an additional Exciſe on Bear for 6 Years, and on *Nov.* 26, to lay a Duty on Tobacco, *Scotch* Salt, Glaſſes, *&c.* They reſolved likewiſe on Account of his Majeſty's Debts, and for a preſent Supply to his extraordinary Occaſions, on *Dec.* 17, to lay a Tax of one Shilling in the Pound on Land, two Shillings on two Thirds of the Salaries of Offices, and fifteen Shillings for each hundred Pounds of Banker's Money and Stock, allowing the King to borrow upon it at 7 *per Cent.* They reſolved likewiſe to lay an Impoſt on Law-Proceedings for nine Years. The Amount of ſuch a Land-Tax is well enough known at preſent: And I find that a Committee having been appointed to make an Eſtimate of the Produce of the additional Exciſe, the Impoſt on Tobacco and other Commodities, and that on ſealed Paper or Law Proceedings, the Houſe on *Dec.* 9. agreed to their Report, that they would all together amount to 400,000 *l.* a Year. This would have effectually ſupplied the Deficiency of the ordinary Revenue for the future, had they all paſſed, as the firſt and laſt did: But that on Tobacco and foreign Commodities (which by Col. *Birch*'s Report on *November* 28, of the Eſtimate of a Year's Produce thereof, amounted to a greater Value than the other two put together) was unhappily loſt by the Lords making Amendments to it, notwithſtanding all that was urged in ſeveral Conferences in Behalf of the Privileges of the Commons in the Point of Money-Bills, which were admirably defended by Sir *Heneage Finch*, whoſe Vindication thereof is entered at large in the Journal of *April* 22, 1671, the laſt Day of the Seſſion.

The *Dutch* War, which had forced the King to make great Anticipations of his Revenue, was ſcarce ended, when the *Algerines* broke the Peace, and obliged

obliged his Majesty to send in 1668, a strong Squadron under Sir *Thomas Allen* into the *Mediterranean*, to curb their Insolence. He was put every Year to the same Expence, as well as to that of Convoys for Merchant Ships, which he never suffered to wait a Moment on that Account, to the End of 1671, when Sir *Edw. Spragge*, having destroyed 7 or 8 of their best Men of War under the Castle of *Bugia*, taken others at Sea, blocked up *Algiers*, forced them to release the *English* Captives, and submit to a new Peace, by which the Money and Goods of Strangers aboard *English* Ships were to be free. The *Dutch* had since the Peace with their State obstructed the Trade of the *English* in the *East-Indies*, and other Quarters of the World; and in the last mentioned Year had disputed the Flag, and given Orders, in Breach of the Peace of *Breda*, to the Commanders of their Ships, not to strike to ours in the *English* Channel. They had followed these Orders with a very great Augmentation of their Forces both by Sea and Land, which looked like preparing for a War. The King on *Dec.* 4. sent Sir *G. Downing* to *Holland*, to discover their Designs, and demand Satisfaction for the Denial of the Flag, and the Damages they had done to our Trade; none being given, his Majesty prepared for the War; which broke out the next Year, upon the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet's refusing on *March* 13, to strike to a Squadron of our Men of War that were cruizing off the Isle of *Wight*, and was proclaimed 4 Days after on *March* 17, $167\frac{1}{2}$.

The King was but in an indifferent Condition to begin or sustain a War. Besides what hath been said already of his Debts, it appears by the Journal of the Commons on *April* 27, 1689, (when they were enquiring into the Revenue in King *Charles*'s Time, in order to settle King *William*'s Civil List,) that there were Debts upon his ordinary Revenue of

the Customs, Excise, Fee-Farm Rents, and Hearth-money, standing out in the Year 1671, and never paid afterwards, to the Amount of 871,768 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 ½. 'Tis no wonder then that, to make the necessary Preparations for a War, he stopped the Payments of his *Exchequer* for a Year at first, (which Time he was afterwards obliged to prolong,) with regard to the principal Money of the Goldsmiths, Bankers, and others who had Warrants, Orders, or Securities thereon; for the Interest thereof, (see *Gazette*, N°. 641.) was to be duly paid at the Rate of 6 *per Cent.* and the Lords of the Treasury were ordered to state every particular Person's Debt in order thereto.

The *By-Stander*, *p.* 88, would fain impute this Step to Lord *Clifford*, tho' all the World knows very well, that *Shaftsbury* was the first Mover of it; and when the King objected the ill Effect it would have, in destroying the Credit of his *Exchequer*, the famous Apologue, which that Lord used to remove the Objection, will never be forgotten. *Clifford* certainly concurred in it, as one of the Ministry then called the *Cabal*; but Nobody doubts of *Shaftsbury*'s being the first Author of the Advice, tho' the *By-Stander* might not care to name him, as having very soon after made a mighty Figure at the Head of the *Whig* Party, and been the chief Director of all their Measures. This Writer says, the Money, the Payment whereof was thus postponed, amounted to 1,328,526 *l.* 'tis not worth while to examine whether this were the exact Sum; but it would be unpardonable in me not to observe, that a Man capable of stiling this an *infamous Robbery of his Majesty's Creditors*, and of asserting that Thousands of Families were ruined by it, must be lost to all Sense of Shame as well as Truth, when the Journal before quoted of *April* 27, 1689, assures us, that K. *Charles* had charged upon his *Exchequer* a perpetual

Intereſt of 79,566 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.* for this Money, and it was paid accordingly, 'till about a Year before that Prince's Death.

It is certainly a very unpleaſing, however neceſſary, a Taſk to be obliged perpetually to take Notice of the Falſhoods of any Writer: Nor could I ſo unluckily have fallen upon any one as the *By-Stander*, who furniſhes me Matter enough in every Page for this Complaint. His next Page gives an Account of a Report in the Houſe of Commons in the Seſſion of 1675, by which it appeared, "that "the King, beſides the Produce of his ſettled Re- "venue, had received a Million for the Uſes of the "War, more than he had expended in it; that "the Court had exacted yearly a Million and "half; that ſince the War, the whole Charge of "the Government by Sea and Land amounted not "to above 700,000 *l.* a Year, and the clear In- "come of the Revenue came at leaſt to 1,600,000 *l.* "Sterling, *&c.*" There cannot eaſily be crouded ſuch a Number of notorious Falſities into ſo narrow a Compaſs; but the *By-Stander*, not conſidering that whoever ſpreads another's Lies, doth thereby adopt them for his own, fancies that he makes a ſufficient Apology for himſelf, in fathering them upon the *Sieur Rapin*; a Writer as full of Viſions as himſelf, and who hath ſwelled out a tedious Relation, barren of material Occurrences, which he calls an *Hiſtory of England*, with an infinite Number of fine-ſpun Speculations *a la Francoiſe*, not ſo much on Matters of Fact, as upon his own Miſtakes; one who had neither the Knowledge, Learning, Judgment, nor Temper neceſſary to qualify himſelf for an Hiſtorian, but depended purely on his Character as a *French* Refugee, to recommend his Performance to the foreign World, for whom only he wrote, and upon whom he thought himſelf able to impoſe; little imagining it would ever come to be read by

Engliſhmen; as it hath been, in Virtue of an unaccountable Taſte that we have for Foreigners, or becauſe it ſerves to ſome ſcandalous Purpoſes, like thoſe of the *By-Stander*. Such Writers always chuſe their Authorities, not with regard to the Credit they deſerve, but as they beſt fit their Purpoſe. It is very plain to any Man of Senſe, verſed in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, who hath tried his Patience in going through *Rapin*'s, that the Compiler of it never read a Record, a Council Book, a Roll of Parliament, a Journal of either Houſe, the Letters of any Negotiation of our Embaſſadors, or indeed any of the moſt proper and authentick Materials for our Hiſtory, except what are found in *Rymer*; which he did but half underſtand, for want of being acquainted with the Cuſtoms and Antiquities of this Nation. In the Point before us, *Rapin* refers us for the above Facts, to a Report made in the Houſe of Commons of 1675, and his accurate Tranſlator has thought fit to add a wiſe Comment upon his Relation: But I can't help aſſuring the Reader, that *in all this there is not one Syllable of Truth*. I read over this Journal of 1675, making my Extracts and Obſervations as I went along, but obſerved nothing in it of any ſuch Report, or of any of the Facts here ſaid to be in it, nor indeed any Thing that had the leaſt Relation thereto. I conſulted afterwards the Paſſage in *Rapin*, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 678. and not being able to conceive how it was poſſible for a Man ſo gravely to quote a Report of the Houſe of Commons, to ſupport the moſt egregious Falſhoods in Nature, without ſome Ground or other, I ſuſpected my own Eyes, and therefore read over all the Journal again, purely to find out ſomething of this Kind, or that might ſerve to lead him into the Miſtake: But it was with the ſame Succeſs as before; there is not the leaſt Mention or Hint of any ſuch Report of any Committee to enquire into the

Charges of the War, of any Examination thereof, or of any one of the Facts pretended to be in it, in all the Journal: And I may add likewiſe, after reading them all, not in any other Journal in all King *Charles*'s Reign. After this, what can the World think of that *French Hiſtorian*, ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the fine Taſte, and recommended by the celebrated Writers of the preſent Age? If nothing can pleaſe them but Romances, they might find ſome that are leſs tedious and more innocently amuſing.

The Obſervations which the *By-Stander* has made upon this Report, and the pretended Matter thereof, need not be taken Notice of, when all the Foundation of them is deſtroyed, and they are ſhewn to be utterly falſe; but as he would fain draw in Sir *William Petty* to countenance one of his Aſſertions, and quotes him for ſaying, in a Poſthumous Work or Eſſay, which probably he had not fully digeſted, "That the ordinary Charge of the Government in "Time of Peace was not 600,000 *l.* a Year," I muſt obſerve that Sir *William* doth indeed expreſs himſelf in thoſe Words; but it is after he has ſaid "that about five Millions would amount to "one Years Pay for 100000 Foot, 40000 Horſe, "and 40000 Men at Sea, Winter and Summer;" ſo that by the Government here he ſeems to me to mean the *Civil Eſtabliſhment* excluſive of the Naval and Military; and the rather becauſe in this Senſe he would be pretty near the Truth, as I have ſhewn before from the Journals of the Commons; whereas in any other he would be vaſtly miſtaken.

The Falſhood of what the *By-Stander* has quoted from *Rapin* will appear further from what I am now going to ſay about the *Dutch* War, which began in *March* 1672, a little before Sir *Edward Spragge* returned from *Algiers*. The King uſed ſuch Diligence in fitting out a Fleet, that in the beginning of *May* the Duke of *York* put to

Sea

Sea with near 100 Men of War; with which he engaged the *Dutch* Fleet on the 28th of that Month, forced them to retire with the Loſs of five of their Men of War to their own Harbours, into which by help of a thick Fog they made a Shift to eſcape; and not daring to put to Sea again, our Fleet inſulted their Coaſt a great Part of the Summer. The Parliament met on *Feb.* 5, 1672-3; when the Chancellor *Shaftsbury* acquainted them, "That the Aids of the "laſt Seſſion did not anſwer the Debts, and a "conſiderable one that was deſigned (*viz.* the Act "for an Impoſt on Tobacco and Foreign Commo-"dities) having been unfortunately loſt in the "Birth, the King had been forced to ſtop the "Payments of his *Exchequer* for carrying on his "Affairs." The Commons hereupon reſolved on *Feb.* 7. to grant a Supply of 1,238,750 *l.* and to raiſe it by an Eighteen Months Aſſeſſment at 70,000 *l.* a Month. This Supply was far from being equal to the neceſſary Service of the War, at a Time when the *Dutch* were preparing a greater Fleet for the next Summer than they ever had at Sea before. The Bill for Supply had the Royal Aſſent on *March* 29, 1673; and the *Dutch* appeared ſoon afterwards at Sea with a formidable Fleet, which being recruited made at laſt above 90 Men of War, beſides Fireſhips and Tenders. Ours being ready at the latter End of *April* put to Sea, and on *May* 28, a bloody Engagement enſued; in which after the Loſs of four Men of War, and the diſabling of ſome others, the *Dutch* took Shelter in their own Shallows and Harbours; where being reinforced and knowing that the *Engliſh* Fleet which was inſulting their Coaſt, could have received no Supplies by reaſon of contrary Winds, they ventured a ſecond Battle on *June* 4, but with the like ill Succeſs as before. Our Fleet afterwards blocked up the *Texel*; and another furious Engagement happened

happened on *Aug.* 11, in which the *Dutch* were treated ſo roughly, that they appeared no more at Sea this Year. They were likewiſe ſo humbled by their ill Succeſs, that they thought fit to ſubmit to all the Articles, which the King had inſiſted in his Declaration of War, and which they at that Time refuſed, *viz.* to ſtrike to the *Engliſh* in the *Britiſh* Seas, and to give Satisfaction in the *Eaſt-India* Trade, and the Buſineſs of *Surinam*; and the Peace was proclaimed in *February* 1673-4.

The Parliament had met on *Jan.* 7, and the King had deſired a Supply for the Expences of the War, and the paying of the Banker's Debt, which had been employed in the Preparations for it. He afterwards on *Feb.* 7, when he acquainted them with the Peace, recommended to the Commons to give another for building a Number of Capital Ships; that we might not be inferior to our Neighbours at Sea. None was granted; the Parliament broke up on *Feb.* 24, 1673-4, and did not meet again 'till *April* 13, 1675, when the *By-Stander* tells us, the Houſe of Commons was grown *Whigiſh*. 'Tis in the next Seſſion of 1675, that *Rapin* places that pretended Report, the Falſity of which I have already expoſed; and how his wiſe *Annotator*, and the *By-Stander* who copies him, can pretend "that the King had re-"ceived a Million for the Uſes of the War, *more* "than he had expended in it," is not eaſy for a Man of Common Senſe to conceive. The War was furious, and being carried on againſt the moſt potent Maritime Power in *Europe*, employed ſtronger Fleets than we have ever had ſince at Sea; ſo that there cannot be allowed for it leſs than 40000 Seamen, the Maintenance of which for two Years comes to *four Millions, one Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds*, beſides other Expences neceſſarily attending a War. The Parliament had given to-

wards it, no more than 1,238,750 *l.* (as every Body may ſee by the Collection of the Statutes in King *Charles*'s Reign,) ſo that the King muſt have been a loſer by it of near 3 Millions, and have contracted a Debt of that Value. The World will ſurely begin to have a better Opinion of King *Charles*'s Government, when they ſee *Rapin*, his *Tranſlator*, and the *By-Stander*, forced to have Recourſe to ſuch palpable Falſhoods, and even Forgeries of Reports, to blacken it: And every impartial Man, who ſees their infamous Miſrepreſentations in this Inſtance, will ſcarce think them deſerving of the leaſt Credit in any other.

The King, at the meeting of the Parliament in *April* 1675, recommended to them the Condition of the Navy; the State whereof and of the Stores was laid before the Commons, who gave no Supply for that or any other Purpoſe: And a Difference ariſing between the two Houſes in Regard to their Privileges, they were on *June* 9, prorogued to *Oct.* 13, 1675. The King at the opening of this laſt Seſſions, deſired of the Commons Supplies, as well for the Building of Ships, as to take off the Anticipations of his Revenue, occaſioned by the late War with *Holland*. They reſolved on *Oct.* 19, to give him no Aſſiſtance for taking off thoſe Anticipations; but on the 22d of the ſame Month, agreed to grant 300,000 *l.* for the building of one Firſt, 5 Second, and 14 Third Rates; and on *Nov.* 8, reſolved to raiſe it by an 18 Month's Aſſeſſment, at 17,204 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* a Month; the Money to be paid into the Receipt of the *Exchequer*, and kept apart from all other Monies, appropriated to the Building, Rigging and other Furniture of the ſaid Ships, and to no other Uſe whatever; with Penalties to be inflicted on any Officer of the *Exchequer*, that ſhould divert and miſapply any Part thereof. But the Quarrel between the two Houſes being revived, this

Bill

Bill was loſt, and the Parliament on *Nov.* 29, was prorogued to *Feb.* 15, 1676-7.

The Houſes met on the Day to which they ſtood prorogued; the King laid before them the Neceſſity of building more Ships; and deſired them to continue the additional Exciſe, "which had "been given in 1670 for ſix Years, and was now "ready to expire. He repreſented the Difficulties "he lay under by an heavy Burden of Debt, which "he wanted Means to diſcharge. He offered "to lay before them the yearly Eſtabliſhment, by "which it would appear, that when the conſtant and "unavoidable Charge was paid, there would remain "no Overplus, even towards diſcharging ſuch Con-"tingencies, as happened in all Kingdoms, and had "been a conſiderable Charge to him the laſt Year; "a Year in which he had been at perfect Peace with "all the World." The Commons hereupon voted a Supply for building one Firſt, 9 Second, and 20 Third Rates; and fixing it at 584,978 *l.* 2 *s.* 2½ *d.* to be raiſed by an Aſſeſſment of 17 Months, ordered a like Appropriation as in the precedent Seſſion, and that the Accompts of all Receipts, and the Diſburſements for each particular Ship ſhould be tranſmitted to their Houſe. They reſolved likewiſe to continue the additional Exciſe for three Years more; but had no ſooner done ſo, than they addreſſed his Majeſty to make Alliances, and to take Meaſures to preſerve the *Netherlands* from a *French* Invaſion, and prevent all Dangers to *England* from the Power of the *French* King, and the Progreſs of his Arms in *Flanders*. The King told them in Anſwer, that without 600,000 *l.* or Credit for that Sum, he could neither ſpeak nor act what was neceſſary to anſwer the Ends of their Addreſſes, without expoſing the Kingdom to much greater Dangers. All that the Commons would do to enable him, was to allow him to borrow 200,000 *l.* on the additional

onal Exciſe; a Fund given for other Uſes, for upporting the yearly Eſtabliſhment and conſtant rdinary Charge of the Government, to which it arce ſerved to make the ordinary Revenue equal a Year of the leaſt Expence. Thus was the ing to be run more and more in Debt, and to ncumber his ordinary Revenue with new Anticiations: The Parliament would grant no more than e Supplies before mentioned, and broke up *May* 8, 1677.

They met again on *Jan.* 28, 1677-8, when the e King acquainted them, " that he had made Alliances with *Holland* for the Preſervation of *Flanders*, which could not well fail of being efectual for that End, unleſs prevented by the Want of due Aſſiſtance to ſupport thoſe Alliances: And then repreſenting the Neceſſity of a great Force by Sea and Land for that Purpoſe, declared his Readineſs to remove all Fears of miſapplying their Money, and his Wiſhes that it might be appropriated as ſtrictly as they could deſire. He next informed them of his Care, and the Progreſs he had made in building the new Ships; which to render them the more uſeful, he had cauſed to be made of ſuch larger Dimenſions, as would coſt him above 100,000 *l.* more than the Act allowed; that he had gone as far as he could in repairing the old Fleet, and in buying neceſſary Stores for the Navy and Ordnance: And in this and other Proviſions for better ſecuring his Foreign Plantations, and the Iſlands nearer Home, he had expended a great deal more than the 200,000 *l.* they had enabled him to borrow on the Exciſe; that he had borne the Charge both of a Rebellion in *Virginia*, and a new War with *Algiers*; that he ſtood engaged with the Prince of *Orange* for his Neice's Portion; and

" ſhould not be able to maintain his conſtant neceſ-
" ſary Eſtabliſhment, unleſs the new Impoſt upo
" Wines, &c. (which had been given for 9 Years
" were continued."

The Commons hereupon, reſolved on *Feb.* 6, an 8; that 90 Men of War and 26 Regiments of Foo of 1000 Men each, 4 of Horſe, 490 each, and of Dragoons, of 960 Men each; were neceſſary t ſupport the Alliance with *Holland*, to preſerve th *Low-Countries*, and leſſen the Power of *France* And paſſed on *March* 8, a Poll-Bill, with a ſtri Appropriation of the Money to the Service of th *French* War, and a Prohibition of *French* Commo dities. The King fitted out this Fleet, and raiſe the Army in a Months Space; and by *March* 1 had embarked 10000 Men for *Flanders*, which w going to be ſwallowed up by the *French* King who had juſt taken *Ghent* and *Ipres*; but upon th Arrival of theſe Forces thought fit to ſend his Ar my back to their Quarters; and made ſuch Offe for a Ceſſation till *July* 27, as were likely to end i a general Peace; to which the *Dutch* were ſo vi lently inclined, that they reſolved to make a ſep rate one, rather than they would continue a Wa which they were unable to ſupport any longer. Th King on this Occaſion laid his Alliances, even th ſecret Articles thereof, before them. The Com mons were for an immediate War with *France* which till the iſſue of the Treaty was known, w not either for the Intereſt of *England*, or the King Safety to engage in alone. He ſuffered great I conveniencies, by not being repaid the 200,000 he had borrowed on the additional Exciſe, to pr vide Stores, and make the neceſſary Preparations fo War in Conſequence of his Alliances; and yet th Sum was not a Third Part of what would be nec ſary for Stores and Proviſions, if a War was act

ally begun. The Commons had promiſed to repay that Money; but though they knew his Majeſty's Diſtreſs, did not take it into their Conſideration till *June*, when they appointed a ſpecial Committee to examine into the Accompts of the Diſburſements thereof, and alſo to conſider of leſſening the Charge of the Navy. Mr. *Powle* was Chairman of this Committee, and reported from it on *June* 17, that the 200,000 *l.* had been expended for the extraordinary of the Ordnance, and that 463,641 *l.* 16 *s.* 2 *d.* had been expended on the Navy, beſides what was due for Wages, Stores, Repairs, *&c.* 'Twas from this Committee, that the ſame Gentleman reported, what I have formerly quoted, in Relation to the ordinary Charge of the Navy in Times of Peace, *viz.* that it amounted to 360,000 *l.* a Year; beſides Extraordinaries and Contingencies; ſuch as in 1676, when 44,551 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* was laid out in Fortifications. The King hoping that the Commons were by this Report convinced, how unequal his ordinary Revenue was to the conſtant ordinary Charges of the Government, repreſented the next Day to the Houſes. "How impoſſible it was for him, with a Revenue ſo impaired as his was, by Debts long ſince contracted, and by the preſent Anticipations, and ſo diſproportioned to that of all his Neighbours, even to that of *Holland*, to ſupport the Dignity of the Crown; and therefore if they would have him ſupport ſuch a War as *Algiers* with Honour, and at the ſame Time keep ſuch Fleets about our own Coaſt, as might give our Neighbour the Reſpect always paid this Crown, they muſt not only ſettle for his Life the Revenue and the *additional Duties*, as at *Chriſtmas* laſt; but find a Way to add to it 300,000 *l.* a Year upon ſome new Funds." The Commons abſolutely rejected the Motion for the 300,000 *l.* a Year; but could not refuſe to continue the *additional*

Duties on Wines, not for Life, but only for Three Years; which might bring in about 60,000 *l.* a Year; and having paſſed likewiſe an Act for raiſing 619,380 *l.* 11 *s.* 6 *d.* by a Twelve Months Aſſeſſment, for paying the Navy, Army, and Princeſs of *Orange*'s Portion, were prorogued on *July* 15, 1678.

They met again on the 21ſt of *October* following; when his Majeſty acquainted them " with the great " Diſappointment he had been under by the Defect " of the Poll-Bill; that his Revenue was under " great Anticipations, and *at beſt never had been* " *equal to the conſtant and neceſſary Expence of the* " *Government*; that he would order the whole State " of it be laid before them, and required them to " examine into it, and take it into their Conſide- " ration." The Commons knew all this very well; but they did not care to eaſe the King of any of his Difficulties: They paſſed a Bill for 206,462 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* for paying the Army; but the Lords making Amendments to it, they rejected them; the Bill was loſt and the Parliament prorogued on *Dec.* 30, 1678, and ſoon after diſſolved.

A new Parliament meeting on *March* 6, the King acquainted the Houſe: " That he had dif- " banded as much of the Army as he could get " Money to do, and was willing to diſband the " reſt, as ſoon as they ſhould reimburſe what the " had coſt him, and would enable him to pay of " the Remainder, and deſired them likewiſe to put " off that part of the Fleet, which had been pro- " vided for by Parliament, but for no longer Time " than to *June*; as alſo to diſcharge the Debt for " Stores, which had been occaſioned by the Poll " Bills falling ſhort of the Sum for which the Act " gave Credit". He next recommended to them to diſcharge the Anticipations on his Revenue which he had commanded to be laid before them

" in

" and though he desired such an Increase of the " Revenue *as might make it equal to his necessary Ex-* " *pences*, yet by reason of some other Supplies be- " ing absolutely necessary, he was content to strug- " gle with that Difficulty a little while longer, ex- " pecting only for the present to have the addi- " tional Duties on the Customs and Excise pro- " longed to him, and that they would make up " the Loss he daily sustained by the Prohibition of " *French* Wines and Brandy, which turned only to " his Prejudice and the Advantage of the *French*. " He went on to represent the Necessity of a good " Strength at Sea for the following Summer, on " account of the naval Preparations making by " our Neighbours, and recommended such a con- " stant Establishment for the Navy, as might make " the Kingdom not only safe but formidable; " which could never be done as long as there was " not Revenue enough remaining besides, to pay " the necessary Charges of the Crown". The Chancellor, in his Speech, insisted on the Difficulties the King was under, by having exhausted his Treasury in going as far as he could in disbanding the Army, which was very much, though not fully done; the Charge of a Fleet that wanted to be paid off after long Service; the Necessity of another for the Summer; and the Defectiveness of the Revenue which had been always short of the necessary Charges of the Government, and the Expediency of taking off the Debts and Anticipations thereof, as well as of supplying the Diminution of the Customs, which made it still narrower than it was originally. The Commons had Views of their own, which they hoped to carry by continuing the King under his Necessities; so that without attempting or shewing a Disposition to do any Thing that might help to relieve him, they passed an Act for 206,462 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* to disband the Army; a Sum not adequate

quate to the Service, when propoſed in the laſt Parliament; and much too little to pay off the Forces after ſo much longer a Continuance on Foot. This had the Royal Aſſent on *May* 9, 1679, and the Parliament was prorogued ſoon after, and diſſolved.

By that Act Sir *Thomas Player*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, and the Colonels *Birch* and *Whitley*, were appointed to diſband the Army; but it appears by the Commons Journal of *July* 16, 1689, that the Money given by the Act fell very much ſhort of anſwering the End for which it was given, and that there was ſtill due 108,588 *l.* 17 *s.* 11 *d.* and one or other of the ſaid Commiſſioners had given Certificates for 54,390 *l.* 4 *s.* which they had not Money to diſcharge. Nor did the next Parliament, which met on *Oct.* 21, 1680, take any Step towards ſupplying this Deficiency, or clearing any of the Anticipations which his Majeſty had made of his Revenue for the public Service, or even for the preſerving of *Tangier*, which the King told them over and over, he muſt be neceſſitated to quit, unleſs they would enable him to maintain the Garriſon, it being impoſſible for him, with ſo ſcanty and encumbered a Revenue, to ſupport the Charge. They were too much taken up with the Bill of Excluſion to mind any Thing elſe; and the *Oxford* Parliament following the Meaſures of this, the King had no other Supply to the End of his Reign.

From this hiſtorical Account of the Taxes in K. *Charles*'s Time, it is clear that the conſtant ordinary Revenue of 1,200,000 *l.* a Year, had it been really given, was never equal to the ordinary and neceſſary Charges of the Government; that it did at firſt fall ſhort of that Sum above 400,000 *l.* a Year; that after the Hearth-money was granted, it ſtill fell ſhort above 300,000 *l.* for two Years and an half, and 260,000 *l.* after that Duty was improved; that no Attempt was made to ſupply this Deficiency 'till

1670,

1670, when the additional Exciſe on Beer, and the Duties on Law Proceedings were granted; and an Impoſt on Tobacco and foreign Commodities, which would have made it up effectually, was alſo intended, but unfortunately loſt by the Lords Amendments to it; that by this laſt Bill's not paſſing, there was a conſiderable Deficiency ſtill left; and the other two being but temporary, granted only for 9 Years, and expiring in *May* and *June* 1680, the Deficiency became afterwards full as great as it had been before 1670; that with this ſcanty Revenue, he was to provide not only for the Civil Liſt, and the ordinary naval and military Eſtabliſhments, but alſo for ſeveral extraordinary Services; ſuch as that of *Ireland* for the firſt 6 Years after his Reſtoration; that of *Dunkrik* to the End of 1662; that of *Tangier*, and a perpetual War with the *Moors* from the Beginning of 1662 to *April* 1684, when the Governor and Garriſon of that Place returned Home; and that of a War with the *Algerines* or other *Turkiſh* and *Saly Rovers*, which obliged him to maintain a Squadron of Ships in the *Mediterranean* for about 18 of the 25 Years that paſſed from the Reſtoration to his Death; that he had no Supplies given him for any of theſe Services, and even what were granted for the firſt War againſt *Holland*, *France*, and *Denmark*, and for the latter againſt *Holland* alone, were vaſtly ſhort of the neceſſary Expences therein; that during the former of thoſe Wars, he ſuffered vaſt Loſſes in his ordinary Revenue by the caſual Calamities of the Plague and Fire of *London*, (having on that Account abated in his Cuſtoms alone 351,476 *l.* 15 *s.* 10 *d.* to the Farmers of that Revenue,) as well as by the Diminution which ſuch Wars neceſſarily occaſioned in his Cuſtoms; and that no Supplies were given him by Parliament, either to repair theſe Loſſes, or to reimburſe the extraordinary Expences, in which he was neceſſarily engaged

engaged by those Wars, and which added exceedingly to the immense Debts contracted before his Time, that he was loaded with immediately upon his Restoration, which the Deficiency of his ordinary Revenue could only serve to increase continually. Whoever considers these Things cannot but see, that the blending of the public Charges of the Kingdom with the Civil List, and putting both upon the ordinary Revenue, far from being of Advantage to K. *Charles* (as the *By-Stander* pretends) was the utter Ruin of his Affairs, and unavoidably caused the Dissipation of the patrimonial Estate of the Crown; an Effect which probably it was from the first intended to produce. That Prince would have been much more happy than he was, had he enjoyed (exclusive of the public Charges of the Nation) but half the Revenue of the present Civil List; the Funds of which, since the Addition of 70,000 *l.* a Year upon the Brandy Act, I have heard very knowing Men compute a 1,200,000 *l.* a Year.

It may not be improper here to compute all the Money that was raised upon the People of *England* in King *Charles*'s Reign, exclusive of the Restoration Year, when all that was given was not sufficient to pay off the Debts of the late Usurpers, and the King's Revenue was not settled, the Funds given for it not taking Place 'till *Christmas* 1660. Now it appears from former Calculations, (of the *By-Stander*'s own making,) that the Customs, Excise, Post-Office, and Wine-Licences produced 652,952 *l.* a Year, and in 24 Years from 1661 to 1684 both inclusive 15,670,846 0 0

The Hearth-money for 2 Years and a half, to 1664	250,000	0	0
Ditto from 1665 to 1684, at 160,000 *l.* a Year	3,200,000	0	0
Additional Excise for 9 Years	990,000	0	0

Duty

		l.	s.	d.
Duty on Law-Proceedings for 9 Years, at 80,000 *l.* a Year		720,000	0	0
To these must be added the extraordinary Grants of Parliament, as beforementioned, *viz.*				
1661	By Assessment, voluntary Present, and Arrears	1,640,000	0	0
1662	Prize-monies	20,000	0	0
1663	Subsidy Act	360,000	0	0
1664	Land-Tax	2,477,500	0	0
1665	Aid	1,250,000	0	0
1666	Poll-Bill and Assessments	1,756,347	13	10
1668	Duty on Wines and Brandies	310,000	0	0
1669	Impost on Wine and Vinegar	400,000	0	0
1670	Land-Tax of 1 *s.* in the Pound	600,000	0	0
67$\frac{2}{3}$	Monthly Assessments	1,238,750	0	0
1677	For building 30 Men of War	0584,978	2	2$\frac{1}{2}$
1678	By additional Duty on Wine at 60,000 *l.* a Year	180,000	0	0
	By Monthly Assessments	619,380	11	6
1680	*Ditto*	206,462	17	3
		32,474,265	4	9$\frac{1}{2}$

This Sum of 32,474,265 *l.* 4 *s.* 9$\frac{1}{2}$, which was
l that was raised upon the People of *England*, by
l manner of Taxes whatever, in the 24 Years of
ing *Charles*'s actual Possession of the Government,
th not one Year with another, amount to full *One*
illion; three Hundred and fifty three Thousand, nine-

ty-five

ty-five Pounds a Year. I differ indeed in this Point very widely from the *By-Stander*, who (*p.* 86.) ſtates the King's Civil Liſt alone, excluſive of all Diſburſements for public Charges at 1,735,900 *l.* a Year; but my State thereof is fully proved by the Premiſſes, in which I have refuted the *By-Stander*'s falſe Calculations, and ſhewn the Reaſons of my own, (wherever I differ from him) by undoubted Authorities, drawn either from Acts of Parliament, or the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, which I have cited faithfully, and defy all Mankind to find me tripping in a ſingle Quotation. The World will be perhaps ſurprized, after all the Clamours and Calumnies thrown out of late againſt his Perſon and Reign, to find how little K. *Charles* coſt this Nation, and with how inconſiderable an Expence for ſo rich a People he maintained all his Wars, and carried on all the Affairs of Government. The Crown-Lands, his own Patrimony, indeed paid for it, being ſacrificed to the public Charges of the Nation, and the eaſing of his Subjects; and if he was by terrible Neceſſities, of which the Debts of the late Rebellion and Uſurpation laid the Foundation, forced to that Sale, and to ſome other Steps not more offenſive to thoſe that cenſure them moſt than diſagreeable to himſelf; Men of Equity, Candour, and Humanity, will not find therein ſo much Matter to be ſevere on his Conduct, as Reaſon to let their Indignation fall with its full Weight upon thoſe that were the Contrivers or Authors of his Neceſſities, and upon thoſe too, who (like the *By-Stander*) do now ſo outragiouſly inſult his Memory.

As that Writer is fond of comparing that Prince's Times with thoſe that have followed the Revolution, let us examine what have been the Expence of the Nation ſince that Event. To be as ſhort in doing this as poſſible, and becauſe the Journals and Votes for ſome Years after the Revolution, do not ſpeci-

ſpecify the particular Sums given for particular Services, ſo diſtinctly as hath been done ſince, ſo that it would take up Time to ſettle every Article of a new Calculation, I take it for King *William*'s Reign, from the Computation made by the Author of the *Hiſtorical Account of Taxes ſince the Conqueſt* (p. 350.) who founds it upon the Receipts of the ſeveral Taxes between *Nov.* 5, 1688, and *Michaelmas* 1700, which came to 65,987,566 *l.* 17 *s.* 8 *d.* and then adding the Impoſitions for the Year and half afterwards to the Death of that Prince, he makes the whole that was raiſed on the Nation in that Reign, amount to *Seventy Millions.* And this Calculation is the rather to be depended on, becauſe it ſeems agreeable to what is ſaid in the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to Q. *Anne* on *Feb.* 12, 1702, after they had at her Deſire inſpected into the Accompts of all public Receipts and Payments of her Subjects. They repreſent in it, " that 45,568,725 *l.* 19 *s.* " 2 ½, (a Sum never known to be raiſed in very " many Reigns before) had been levied on the Sub- " ject, and iſſued out of the *Exchequer* for the Ser- " vice of the late War to Pay-maſters and Treaſu- " rers between *Nov.* 5, 1688, and *March* 8, 1701, " beſides the ſeveral Millions of Money that were " raiſed for other public Uſes; yet the far greateſt " Part thereof had not been accompted for to that " Day, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the People, and " great Diſhonour of the *Engliſh* Nation." Theſe ſeveral Millions given for other public Uſes beſides the War, and thirteen Years and a half's Produce of the Civil Liſt Funds, ſeem to make up the reſt of the *Seventy Millions.*

The ſame Author (*p.* 360,) after recounting the ſeveral Taxes laid upon the Nation in Queen *Anne*'s Time, computes the Money levied upon the Subject in her Reign to amount to eighty Millions; ſo that in the firſt 26 Years after the Revolution, there

were *an hundred and fifty Millions* given to the Crown, near five Times more than had been granted in the 24 Years of King *Charles* the Second's Reign. This Calculation, which he founds upon the Taxes and their Produce, is ſtill leſs than what I find by the Votes of the Houſe of Commons in that Princeſs's Time, touching the Sums given in each Seſſion for the Service of the enſuing Year: The Totals of which, tho' a dry Work for a Man not uſed to Accompts, I have endeavoured to caſt up; and they appear to me for their reſpective Years to be as follows.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
For the Service of	1702	3,582,788	4	4
———	1703	3,517,957	7	2
———	1704	4,007,329	8	6
———	1705	5,244,941	3	10
———	1706	5,151,460	16	2
———	1707	5,893,381	15	3½
———	1708	6,026,845	18	6½
———	1709	6,332,038	10	10½
———	1710	4,969,432	16	0½
———	1711	14,573,244	5	4
———	1712	5,378,319	19	8½
———	1713	2,899,233	3	4½
———	1714	2,689,533	5	5½
	Total	70,266,506	14	4½

It may very well be ſuppoſed, that in makin out of the *Journals* thoſe Extracts which are to b printed in the *Votes*, the Clerks may ſometimes o verlook an Article, when ſeveral Reſolutions of Committee for Supply, all generally beginnin with the like Words, are reported together; that probably more Sums were voted than are he mentioned. I find particularly that in the Seſſion

of 1703, the Charge of the Ordinary of the Navy is omitted; as is alſo in that of 1709, the Charge of our Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*, which in the Year before amounted to near 1,100,000 *l.* and in the Year following to 1,500,000 *l.* yet nothing is put down for thoſe Omiſſions. Nor have I put down any Thing for the 140,000 *l.* a Year for 32 Years, ſet a-part by a Vote of *May* 3, 1711, for the raiſing of 1,500,000 *l.* though it ſeems to me part of the Debt then provided for by the *South-Sea* Act, and without it the Debts which that Bill was to ſecure do not amount to the nine Millions therein mentioned. Notwithſtanding all this, if we add the Funds appropriated to the Civil Liſt, and other Charges upon them, at a Million for each of the 13 Years of Queen *Anne*, this with the Total abovementioned, will amount to above *eighty-three Millions*; ſo that in about 26 Years, which paſſed from the Revolution to the Death of Queen *Anne*, there was raiſed upon the Nation near *five times as much as was raiſed in the* 24 *Years of King* Charles *the Second.*

It muſt be ſaid indeed, that the Revolution was followed with Wars very expenſive of themſelves, and rendered much more ſo by the Management thereof. It may be proper therefore to conſider, what Sums have been raiſed in the peaceful Times which we have had, ſince the Proteſtant Succeſſion took Place. Now from the Death of Queen *Anne*, I find by the Votes, the following Sums have been raiſed by the Nation, *viz.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For 1715	2,946,916	6	9½
1716	3,122,959	5	11½
1717	3,674,107	13	5
1718	2,514,075	3	2½

For

		l.	s.	d.
For	1719	3,362,576	17	1
	1720	3,623,537	14	9
	1721	2,647,127	7	5½
	1722	2,923,108	18	0
	1723	2,043,051	17	3½
	1724	1,861,838	6	3
	1725	1,823,229	4	9
	1726	2,937,132	18	4
	1727	2,998,104	11	0
	1728	4,333,666	1	7½
	1729	3,149,499	0	10¼
	1730	2,281,190	17	6¼
	1731	3,682,838	10	4
	1732	1,782,700	2	11½
	1733	2,004,806	13	6
	1734	3,870,230	17	4
	1735	3,150,452	4	7½
	1736	2,141,552	18	4¼
	1737	3,025,172	9	9¾
	1738	3,388,596	4	8¼
	1739	2,728,363	10	6½
	1740	3,748,713	15	10¼
	1741	2,734,429	11	1½
	1742 granted	6,100,000	0	0
	Total	85,600,039	3	2½

In this Account of Grants, I have omitted all Grants of Annuities for Lives, and for an indefinite Number of Years, as well becauſe I could not eaſily aſcertain the juſt Value thereof, as becauſe I did not care to ſwell the Amount of theſe Taxes, to more than it certainly is, or to leave any room for Cavil. 'Tis for this laſt Reaſon, that I have put down the groſs Sum of the Grants for 1738, only at 3,388,596 *l.* 4 *s.* 8¼ *d*; becauſe I did not obſerve

obſerve in the Votes, that the particular Sums voted, amounted to more; though the *Hiſtorical Regiſter* for that Year, *pag.* 176, in the Speech, which is aſcribed to the Speaker at the End of the Seſſion, ſhews that there were above 3,750,000 *l.* granted for the Fleets and Armies, beſides a Million to diſcharge as much of the National Debt; and the Taxes laid that Seſſion agree with the Sum mentioned in that Speech. I am indeed apt to think, that in turning over the Votes, I have overlooked ſeveral Articles, which would have conſiderably augmented the vaſt Sum which is put above, as the total of the yearly Supplies for 28 Years paſt; however, as it ſtands, it does with the Revenue ariſing from the Funds of the Civil Liſt for the ſame Number of Years, (which being computed below their real Value, and only at Million a Year, ariſe to 28 Millions, amount to *one Hundred and thirteen Millions, ſix Hundred Thouſand Thirty-nine Pounds, Three Shillings and Two-pence Half-penny.* A Sum above three Times more than all that King *Charles* received from his Subjects in his whole Reign, or would have received, if he had lived four Years longer to make up 28 Years, at the *Medium* of the Revenue and Taxes in his Time. It hath been already obſerved, what prodigious Fleets King *Charles* was obliged to fit out, and what bloody Engagements happened in his ſix Years War with *Holland*: What vaſt Expences for the repairs of Ships, theſe muſt occaſion, it is eaſy for every Body to conceive. In ſome of thoſe Years, he had *Denmark* and *France* too for his Enemies; and in the other 18 Years of his Government (ſcarce one excepted) he was continually at War with the *Moors*, the *Algerines* and other *Turkiſh* Rovers: Yet the *Medium* of the Taxes in his Time, came but to about *Thirteen Hundred Fifty-three Thouſand Pounds a Year.* Whereas in the laſt 28 Years, in which we have enjoyed the

Bleſſing, and might have thriven by the Arts of Peace; in which we have had no Foreign War to employ Land-Forces, nor any Sea-Engagement, but what I would, as willingly as the late Earl *Stanhope*, draw a Veil over for the ſake of the *Engliſh* Name; the Action in 1718, off the Coaſt of *Sicily* excepted, the *Medium* of our Taxes has been at the Rate of above *Four Millions* a Year; and this, though the Nation hath all the while laboured under an heavy Debt of of about *Fifty Millions*, and paid for a long Time a great deal more, but never leſs, than *Two Millions* a Year for the Intereſt thereof.

It muſt be owned indeed, and I have before proved, that the 1,353,000 *l.* a Year with which King *Charles* maintained all his Wars, and ſupported all the Charges of the Nation, was too ſmall a Revenue to defray ſuch extraordinary Expences, and provide likewiſe for the ordinary public Charges of the Government. He did all he could to make it hold out, retrenching about 3 Years after his Reſtoration the public Tables, which all the Kings of *England* before him had kept for the great Officers of their Court, (who in lieu thereof were allowed the Board-Wages which they enjoy at preſent,) and looking carefully himſelf into the Management of his Treaſury, wherein by that Means he was very well ſerved all his Reign. His ordinary Revenue was 300,000 *l.* a Year deficient of that Sum: He deſired, in 1678, the Houſe of Commons to ſupply him with that additional Income, which would have enabled him to ſupport the Dignity of the Crown, and ſecure, as he wiſhed, the Trade, Reputation, and Intereſts of the Nation; but had the Mortification to be refuſed. The People of *England* were in thoſe Days much better ſecured from being oppreſſed with Taxes, by the uſual Frugality of Parliaments, than they are now, by the Appropriations ſo much cry'd up by the *By-Stander*, above

above what we ſee in the Effects of this Method. It was practiſed, as hath been ſhewn, even in King *Charles*'s Time; but it did not then hinder Parliaments from enquiring by ſelect Committees into every Eſtimate laid before them, into all the Diſburſements of public Money, into every Branch of the Revenue, and into every Article of Expence, even thoſe of ſecret Service, with all the Strictneſs imaginable. Nor did the King ever obſtruct theſe Inquiries, ſo neceſſary for the Satisfaction of the People, and to make them pay the public Taxes without murmuring. He had no Intereſt ſeparate from that of his Subjects; no Deſire ſtronger in him than to be well with his People, and to make them rich, flouriſhing, and happy. Far therefore from obſerving a Conduct, that would naturally inſpire a Jealouſy of his Meaſures and Deſigns, he thanked his Parliaments on ſome Occaſions for theſe Inquiries; and on others, recommended it to them to make them with all the Rigour imaginable; aſſuring them of his Readineſs to give up any Miniſter of his, who ſhould, in the Courſe of their Inquiries, be found guilty of any Miſdemeanor.

The laviſh World never look into Accompts; whereas Parſimony in giving neceſſarily produceth Economy in Management, and is ever attended with a ſtrict Inquiſition into the Application of Money. Such was the Spirit, and ſuch the Conduct of Parliaments in King *Charles*'s Time: They gave little, and looked narrowly into the Application of that little. They appropriated likewiſe their Grants on ſeveral Occaſions, in ſome of which they appointed Commiſſioners of their own naming, to diſpoſe of the Money according to ſuch Appropriations, and in others they examined with ſuch Severity into the Violation thereof, that Sir *Edw. Seymour*, Treaſurer of the Navy, was impeached * for having

* See Commons Journal, *Nov.* 20, 1680.

misapplied part of the Money given for building Ships, and diverted it to other Uses.

These Measures proved then an effectual Security for the right Employment of the public Money; I wish the same could be said of the Appropriations since the Revolution; which coming to be considered as *Things of Course*, are exposed to the same Fate, as others of that Kind generally meet with, that of not being minded, and degenerating at last into meer Form. It hath been an old Observation, verified by too constant Experience, with regard to the *English*, that they do not want good Laws, but suffer for want of those Laws being put in Execution. The Methods of Accompting, and all the Rules established in our Treasury by Act of Parliament, are undoubtedly very good; and yet they have been continually violated with Impunity; and (as appears by the Votes of *April* 24, 1711,) have not hindered an Arrear of a great part of 35 Millions in the Accompts. The Votes of *May* 15 in the same Year assure us, that notwithstanding our modern Appropriations, a Sum of above 600,000*l.* given for one Use, had been diverted to another, without any Deductions made in the Charge of this late Article; and that this Misapplication of the public Money, had been very prejudicial to the Service of the Nation; so that what the *By-Stander* says, p. 35, that no Minister in his Senses will be guilty of a Breach of such Appropriations, is meer trifling, when Matter of Fact proves the contrary. Supplies have been usually granted for each Service upon the Estimates delivered in to the House of Commons by the proper Officers concerned in those Services: And yet the same *Votes* assure us, *that the public Expences have been increased beyond the Supplies annually granted by Parliament*, and that *this hath been the chief Occasion of the Debts of the Nation, and an Invasion of the Rights of Parliament*.

The *By-Stander* lays a great Streſs upon every Article of public Service being ſubject to the Diſcuſſion of Parliament; but what ſignifies this, if Parliaments do not enter into this Diſcuſſion? When hath ſuch a Diſcuſſion been made? When have Commiſſioners, in the 28 Years laſt paſt, been ever appointed for taking and examining into public Accompts? In King *Charles*'s Time Parliaments enquired by *ſelect Committees* into the Truth of Eſtimates, and into the Diſburſements of public Money; but when is it in our Days that Eſtimates preſented to the Houſe have been referred to ſuch Committees? We have known Motions for appointing them to conſider ſome of theſe Eſtimates, and to examine into the Diſburſements of particular Sums, rejected. The general Method of late hath been to order them to lie on the Table to be peruſed by the Members, or to refer them to a Committee of the whole Houſe, whoſe uſual Buſineſs does not lead them ſo much to ſtate and examine into Facts, as to take them for granted, and proceed accordingly. And as to the Peruſal of the Members, I do not remember above one Inſtance in which it proved of any Benefit to the Nation, *viz.* when the late Mr. *Hutchinſon*, in 1718, took the Pains of examining into the Charge of Half-pay Officers, and publiſhed his Remarks thereon; by which he ſaved the Kingdom 30,000 *l.* in that Article: Yet I never heard that his Succeſs ever encouraged any other Perſon to follow his Example, or prevailed to have ſuch Eſtimates put into any other Method. In ſhort, general Eſtimates and Accompts are very ſeldom, if ever, inſtructive; ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible to form any Judgment upon them, 'till the Particulars come to be examined, which is the Buſineſs of a ſpecial Committee; and when none ſuch are appointed, when Eſtimates and Accompts have paſſed as it were of Courſe, for many Years together, without any Ex-

amination, it is not eaſy for a Man of common thereby Senſe to imagine, what Check or Reſtraint is laid upon any Miniſter, who is minded to ſink or miſapply the public Money; eſpecially when if he ſhould have the ill Luck to be diſcovered, he may ſtill reaſonably enough expect to eſcape with Impunity; ſince our late Hiſtory ſcarce furniſhes us with a ſingle Inſtance of a particular Offender of this Kind being puniſhed, even when a Cenſure hath been paſſed on the Crime and Offenders in general.

Theſe Reaſons incline me to think, that we were much better guarded againſt Embezzlements and Miſapplications of public Money, in King *Charles*'s Time, than we are at preſent: And if we appeal to Experience, it will confirm us in this Opinion. Our Taxes were then ſmall; our Commerce continually improving; and the Nation daily increaſing in Wealth; we find the Caſe now to be otherwiſe. The *By-Stander*, *p.* 104, quotes Dr. *Davenant*, for ſaying, "that it was agreed by old and experienced "Merchants, that we had near double the Ton- "nage of trading Ships in 1688, to what we had "in 1660; that our Furniture of all Kinds was "greatly improved in the Quantity and Richneſs "of it; and to inſtance only in Plate, there was "more wrought for private Families from 1666 to "1688, than had been worked for 200 Years be- "fore; and that our Manufactures in general were "increaſing from 1660 to 1688, and various new "ones beginning to be eſtabliſhed." The *By-Stander* alſo, *p.* 92, quotes the ſame Author, for ſaying in *his Diſcourſes of the public Revenues*, Vol. II. p. 33 "that the Coin of *England* at the Reſtoration was "14 Millions"; he might have quoted him for the Increaſe of our Coin *four Millions and an half* within the ſame Period of Time; for the Dr. ſays, a Pages afterwards, *viz.* p. 36, "that *our Coin* "*the Revolution* was augmented to *eighteen Millions*

"*f*

" *ſix hundred thouſand Pounds* Sterling "; ſuch a Sum had a flouriſhing Trade (which King *Charles* was ever careful to encourage) brought into the Kingdom. If the Caſe be different now; if our Coin diminiſhes, our Manufactures fail, and our Trade decays, the ſame Dr. *Davenant* aſſigns a Reaſon in his *Eſſay on the Methods to make a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade*, p. 168. " This " (ſays he) may be laid down for a certain Truth, " that *England* will never flouriſh in Trade and Ma- " nufactures, till the greateſt Part of them (*i. e.* " our Funds for paying Debts) are cleared, and " till our Affairs are brought to ſuch a Poſture, " that we may not pay to the Government, either " for the Support of the Crown, or on Accompt " of Funds, where the Principal is ſunk, above " 2,300,000 *l. per Annum*; which was our Con- " dition before the War," (which began at the Revolution.) How remote a Proſpect we have of bringing Things to that paſs, is evident to every one who conſiders that, beſides the Taxes aſſigned for diſcharging the Intereſt of Debts, and the ſinking Fund intended for paying off the Principal, which raiſe above 3,600,000 *l.* a Year; and thoſe appropriated to an higher Civil Liſt, than was ever known in former Times, we ſeldom pay leſs than two Millions every Year to maintain an uſeleſs Standing-Army, and to ſupport the Fleet and other Public Charges; and upon an extraordinary Occaſion, as particularly this Year, no leſs than *Ten Millions Sterling* is on all theſe Accounts raiſed on the Nation. But how unlikely ſoever it be, every Lover of his Country ought to employ his Thoughts, and uſe his Endeavours for bringing it to that happy State.

The *By-Stander*, *p.* 99, tells us, that the Revenue for the Civil Liſt. and the Public Charges of the Government at the Time of King *James*'s Abdication,

cation, amounted in all to *Two Millions, Sixty-one Thouſand, two Hundred Fifty-five Pounds:* Yet even in this he exceeds, in Compliance with an unfortunate Habit which will not allow him to ſtate any Thing truly. The correcting his falſe Calculations in the former Reign, hath taken up ſo much Time, that I ſhall only on this Occaſion obſerve, that he ſeems to have taken his Account of the 6th, 7th and 8th Articles, relating to the Impoſt on Wines and Vinegar, Tobacco and Sugar, *French* Linen, Brandy and Silk, from the Journal of the Commons of *March* 1, 1688-9; where (abating the odd Shillings) they are computed reſpectively as he charges them; only it is not ſaid that they produced thoſe Sums excluſive of the Charge of Collection; that the ſame Journal affirms the *Medium* of the whole Exciſe in King *James*'s four Years, was 610,486 *l.* a Year, that of the Poſt-Office 55,000 *l.* and that of Hearth-Money 200,000 *l.* and the ſmall Branches (of which the Wine-Licences are part) 26,350 *l*; ſo that deducting 55,897 *l.* overcharged in the 2d Article of the Exciſe; 45,000 *l.* out of the Hearth-Money; 10,000 *l.* out of the Poſt-Office, and 43,650 *l.* out of the ſmall Branches and Wine-Licences; King *James*'s Revenue will be reduced to 1,907,308 *l.* a Year. It appears likewiſe from the Journals of *March* 20, and *April* 27, that the conſtant annual Expence of King *James* in the Government, was about 1,700,000 *l.* a Year; the Particulars whereof are there ſpecified; beſides 50,000 *l.* a Year to the Queen Conſort; 18,200 *l.* to Queen Dowager, and 40,000 *l.* a Year to the Prince and Princeſs of *Denmark*; in all 1,808,200 *l.* a Year. To which it muſt be added, that the Impoſt on Tobacco and Sugars, was granted chiefly to diſcharge the Debts due at King *Charles*'s Death to his Servants; and it appears from the Journal of *July* 19, 1689, that 300,000 *l.* of theſe Debts

Debts had been paid by King *James* out of this Impoſt. The others upon Wine and *French* Linen, were given either for the King's extraordinary Charges in ſuppreſſing *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, or for Repairs of the Navy, and ſupplying the Stores which were exhauſted; and how carefully they were employed for this Purpoſe, appears clearly from a Book called, *The Oeconomy of his Majeſty's Navy-Office*, wrote by an Officer of the Navy, and printed in 1717; at a Time when no Officer could make his Court by ſpeaking advantageouſly of King *James* II: Yet this Author tells us, "that the "whole Navy was fully repaired by that King, and "a compleat Proviſion of 8 Months Sea Stores "actually provided, and left in diſtinct and proper "Repoſitories for each Ship ſo repaired. Beſides "there was laid up in Magazine ſuch a further "Reſerve, for anſwering the general Service of "the Navy, as amounted in 8 Species only there-"of (being all Foreign Commodities and of the "higheſt Importance, *viz.* Hemp, Pitch, Tar, "Roſin, Canvas, Iron, Oil and Wood) to above "100,000 *l*: And more Magazines erected for "preſerving of the ſaid Stores, than had ever been "before by all the Kings of *England* put toge-"ther."

The Houſe of Commons of that King's Time, was perhaps the beſt conſtituted of any that ever met in *England*, not only with Regard to the merit of the Members, but in Reſpect of their Qualities and Eſtates, it being compoſed chiefly of Gentlemen of the moſt ancient Families in the Kingdom, and who had the natural Intereſt of the Places for which they ſerved. This Parliament well knowing the Diſtreſſes to which King *Charles* had been put through the Deficiency of his Revenue, reſolved to make it up to his Brother, ſo that it might anſwer the neceſſary Charges of the Government;

and (beſides the Impoſts on Wines, Tobacco and *French* Linen, which were only Temporary, and for a few Years to ſupply his extraordinary Occaſions) gave him the additional Exciſe added to the former ordinary Revenue for his Life. The Exciſe had been taken out of Farm in the two laſt Years of King *Charles*, and began to be improved: It was in King *James*'s Time ſtill more improved by Management, and yielded 148,789 *l.* 4 *s.* 10 *d.* more than it did in his Brother's Reign: And yet with this Improvement, and the additional Exciſe, his whole ordinary Revenue amounted but to a little more than 1,400,000 *l.* a Year; a Burthen which, though Hearth-Money made a Part of it, the Nation would hardly now-a-days think to be inſupportable.

I have fully ſhewn what King *Charles* ſuffered from the Deficiency of his; and ſhall be always ready to maintain the Poſition I have advanced, that there is not a Step in his Reign, by which it can be pretended the Nation ſuffered either in its Intereſt or Glory, but was purely the Reſult of thoſe Neceſſities, in which I have ſhewn how he was involved. It was Indignation to ſee his Memory ſo unworthily treated, that hath now made me take Pen in Hand to do Juſtice to the Conduct of the moſt amiable Prince that ever ſate upon the *Engliſh* Throne, from whoſe Preſence, whilſt living, no Man ever went away diſobliged. And if the *By-Stander* in the 2d Part of his Performance, with which he threatens the World, ſhould think fit to exerciſe his Talent of Miſrepreſentation upon him again, he muſt not be ſurprized, if a Perſon, who engages in the Vindication of deceaſed Princes with as much Zeal, as ever prompted the moſt obſequious Flatterer in any Age to make his Court to the Living, ſhall call him to the like Accompt, as he has done now; and if that Writer, in his Fondneſs

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for Compariſons, ſhall be minded to indulge his *Gout* farther in that Reſpect, I ſhall not decline the Taſk put upon me, however odious it is generally deemed, but ſhall wait upon him throughout.

I have now done with his Calculations, ſo far as they are founded upon any Pretence of Facts; and having refuted them, it would be too much to expect I ſhould go through the Drudgery of examining his Viſionary Ones, which have no Being or Foundation, but in his own Imagination; ſuch as his Suppoſition, *pag.* 53. of a Lord of a Manor and his Cottagers. All the Argument that he forms from thence, is grounded upon another Suppoſition, *viz.* that the People of *England* are grown richer ſince the Revolution than they were before it; a Suppoſition, which, to their Sorrow, they cannot take for granted, becauſe they generally feel the contrary. A Man muſt be an utter Stranger to this City, that does not know the Decay of Trade, and to the Kingdom, if he does not ſee an univerſal Face of Poverty upon the common People. The Wealth of a Nation is finite, as well as that of particular Perſons: And 'tis really amazing how either could hold out, without being quite exhauſted, under ſuch a Burden of Debts and Taxes, as we have been contracting, or have ſuffered for above half a Century. 'Tis theſe have almoſt ruined our Trade and Manufactures; and if no Way be found, or Care taken to reduce them, they muſt at laſt make the Nation itſelf Bankrupt. In the mean Time, Particulars among all Orders of Men, feel the unhappy Effects thereof in their Impoveriſhment; the Huſbandman throws up his Farm, unable to occupy it longer; the Manufacturer wants a Vent for his Goods or Employment to get his Living; the leſſer Tradeſman fails, and the great Merchant leaves off Buſineſs, vainly wiſhing to reſume it in Times more favourable to Commerce. There were

computed last Year in the *West*, above an hundred thousand Workmen in the Woollen Manufacture, that were starving with their Families for want of Work. This has raised the Poor Rates to such a Degree, that in some Places, as at *Stroud* in *Gloucestershire*, they pay Twelve Shillings and Sixpence in the Pound to the Poor: And Gentlemen in those Parts would be glad to assign over their Estates to receive but one quarter of their Value, clear of this and all other Taxes. When a Manufacture decays, the Towns where it used to flourish are always sure to suffer in this Respect; but the Calamity is not now confined to them; it is become much more general, and the Poor Rates are vastly increased all over the Kingdom. Gentlemen of great Estates suffer, as well as others, in the general Distress: they suffer in the Loss of their Rents, in their Lands being thrown upon their Hands, in the Price of every Thing that they purchase for the Necessities or Convenience of human Life. Before the Revolution, a Gentleman could keep a more plentiful House, and provide better for his Children, with an Estate of 500 *l.* a Year, than he can do now with 1500 *l*; and yet the Neighbourhood is apt to expect he should live on the same Estate as hospitably as any of his Ancestors did formerly; not considering what vast Deductions go out of it now, to which they were utter Strangers. Gentlemen likewise are but too apt to fall themselves into the same Mistake; which has often proved fatal to them, and caused, or at least hastened, the Ruin of abundance of ancient Families. Their Lands may be the same, and their Rental equal to that of their Fathers in King *Charles*'s Time; but as the Price of all Things, that are not the Product of their Lands, is generally double now to what it was in those Days, their Estates can purchase but half the Quantity thereof, and consequently are diminished one

half in their Product, as to all the Conveniencies of Life. They ſhould conſider the Land-Tax and the Poor Rates, as ſo many real Mortgages on their Eſtates; for ſuch they are in Effect, and (what is worſe) not redeemable at Pleaſure, but likely to be continued down as a Rent-Charge upon their Poſterity. For unleſs ſome effectual Method be taken to pay off the Debts, and leſſen the conſtant ordinary Charge of the Government, of which there is but little Proſpect; or unleſs ſome extraordinary Genius ſhould find out Ways and Means, beyond the Conception of our Modern Projectors, to maintain Fleets and Standing-Armies, and provide for other conſtant Annual Services, without the Help of Land and Malt-Taxes, theſe Charges muſt in all Appearance be tranſmitted down to ſucceeding Generations.

This, however it may deſerve every Gentleman's ſerious Reflection, is too melancholly a Subject for a Writer to dwell on; and yet that which the *By-Stander* puts me next upon conſidering, is not either leſs deſerving of every Man's Attention, or leſs uncomfortable in the Apprehenſions it may naturally create, I mean the exceſſive Height to which the Power and Influence of the Crown is riſen of late Years, eſpecially ſince the Revolution. This appears in ſome Meaſure from what hath been already ſaid of the great Increaſe of the Civil Liſt, and the immenſe Sums of Money raiſed upon the People ſince that Æra; the Management whereof has been put entirely into the Hands of the Crown, without any Reſtraint from thoſe ſtrict Methods of Enquiry into the Diſpoſal thereof, which were uſed formerly; and thus its *Power of Money* is vaſtly increaſed: Whilſt the Nation, loaded with an inſupportable of Burden Debts, and exhauſted by continual Payments and Contributions, which they have as little Hopes of ſeeing eaſe to be raiſed, as they have Abilities to bear, is falling into a general Deſpondency, and a State of

utter Impoveriſhment. It will appear ſtill more plainly, if we compare our ancient Conſtitution with the preſent, and conſider the various Alterations, that have happened from time to time in the Affairs, Situation, and Condition of the Kingdom.

In the *Saxon* Times, the King was Sovereign, as well in the Legiſlature as in the Adminiſtration; yet no Laws were made but in a Common Council of the Realm; and the principal Parts of the Adminiſtration were in the Hands of the People, tho' the King directed and ſuperviſed the whole. For Juſtice was adminiſtered by Lords of Mannors to their Tenants, (which *Tacitus* tells us was the univerſal Method among the *Germans* in his Time,) and to all Perſons whatever in the Hundred and the County-Courts, where the Suitors and Freeholders were Judges. In thoſe Days the Sheriff and the Coroners were the Ordinary, and perhaps the only, Conſervators or Juſtices of the Peace in each County. As for common Nuſances and Felonies, they were all cognizable, and determined by the Sheriff in his *Tourn*, except in Caſe of the Death of a Man; in which the Coroner was Judge *ſuper viſum Corporis*; as he was likewiſe in other Caſes, whenever there lay a legal Exception againſt the Sheriff, whoſe ordinary Lieutenant he was on ſuch Occaſions, as Lord *Coke* tells us, *Inſt.* 4. *ch.* 53 and 55. Now theſe Conſervators, the Coroners, and the Sheriffs were all elected by the Freeholders of the ſeveral Counties; ſo that in a Manner the whole Power of the Magiſtracy, the Diſtribution of Juſtice, and the Execution of the Laws, in civil and criminal Caſes, was in the Diſpoſal of the People. Nor was it otherwiſe in the Caſe even of the military Power. For though the King was at the Head of it, and could appoint a General in chief to command the Forces of various Counties drawn together to oppoſe an Enemy; yet in each County the Force

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there raiſed were commanded by the *Heteroches*, who were choſen by the Freeholders; as appears from the Laws of King *Edward*, *cap. de Heterochiis*. Accordingly Sir *E. Coke*, in his Comment on the firſt Statute of *Weſtminſter*, *ch.* 10. *p.* 175. aſſures us, "That the *Heteroches* among the *Engliſh Saxons*, "(which the *Latins* called *Ductores exercitus*, and "the *Gauls* ſtiled Conſtables or Mareſchals of the "Army,) were choſen by Common Council thro' "the Provinces, and in each County *in a full Folke-"mote*; as the Sheriffs of Counties uſed alſo to be "choſen". By this means was the greateſt Part of the Military Power, as well as the Civil, veſted in the People; who were the more ready and capable of exerting both upon any Occaſion, in virtue of a means of Union, which then prevailed and was eſtabliſhed by Law all over the Kingdom, I mean the Inſtitution and Uſage of Frank-pledges. This was an excellent Inſtitution, and in Virtue thereof all the People of *England* were in every County, Hundred, and Tything, united together in a Band of Confederacy; and thereby engaged and reſolved to ſtand by one another in the Defence of their Liberties; which were by theſe Means ſo effectually ſecured from all Invaſion, that the Hiſtory of thoſe Times ſcarce affords us a ſingle Inſtance of any Attempt of that Nature.

Our Conſtitution ſuffered in this Reſpect, more remarkably than in any other, by the Alterations made in it at the Conqueſt; the Inſtitution of Frank-pledges being then entirely aboliſhed. The military Power underwent alſo ſome Alteration; being put into other Hands, though it ſtill remained in thoſe of the Subject. The great Difference was, that, whereas the Commanders of Forces were before eligible by the Counties, they ſucceeded afterwards to that Authority by Right of Inheritance; which was after all, ſome Security, and infinitely better than

than to have them appointed and removed at Pleaſure. *William* the Firſt diſtributed all the Lands in *England*, (except his own Demeſnes,) among his Followers, who held them to themſelves and their Heirs, generally by Knights Service; but though their Tenure obliged them to follow the King in his Wars, they did not think it obliged them to ſubmit to be Slaves, after having aſſiſted him with the Hazard of their Lives to reduce the Nation to his Obedience. They formed indeed the military Power of the Kingdom; but this being annexed to their Eſtates, and both tranſmitted by hereditary Right to their Deſcendants, they were as tenacious of their Rights and Liberties, and as zealous in defending them, as the *Saxons* had ever been. The great Offices of the Crown, particularly thoſe of Conſtable and Marſhal, to whom the chief Command of Armies appertained of right in Virtue of thoſe Offices, were alſo hereditary. There were alſo various Counties Palatine erected; ſuch as *Cheſter*, *Cornwall*, *Lancaſter*, and afterwards *Ely*, *Durham*, *Pembroke*, *&c.* the Earls or Chiefs whereof enjoyed as ample an Authority within their reſpective Diſtricts, as the King himſelf did in the reſt of the Kingdom. Several likewiſe of the Lords of the *Marches*, as well towards *Wales* as *Scotland*, enjoyed the like Royalties, and were able ſingly at any Time to draw an Army of ſeaſoned and experienced Warriors into the Field. The other Barons too had great Numbers of Vaſſals, who were by their Tenures obliged to follow them in War, and were ſo far juſtified or excuſed therein, that when their Lords have been put to Death for Rebellion, they have ſtill been diſmiſſed with Impunity. Theſe great Men were naturally engaged by their Intereſt to protect their Vaſſals and Dependants, as well as defend their own Rights, againſt any Oppreſſion or Invaſion attempted by the Crown; and ſuch was

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their military Power, that whenever they had any Occaſion to contend with it, they generally got the better; as may be ſeen in the Hiſtory of the Baron's Wars.

The Crown ſeems to have had ſcarce any military Power in thoſe Days, but what depended on the Attachment of ſome of theſe Barons to their Prince; unleſs it be what our Kings derived from the Commiſſions, which they iſſued from time to time during our Wars with *France*, (whereof we have frequent Inſtances in our Records from the Time of *Edward* I. to the latter End of *Henry* VI.) to the Sheriffs, Knights, and moſt conſiderable Commoners and experienced Officers, to chuſe, array, and lead to a Rendezvous, a certain Number of Archers, Hoblers, and Men at Arms, in the ſeveral Counties of the Realm. But ſtill theſe Commiſſaries would ſcarce have been able to have executed their Commiſſion without the Conſent of the Barons in thoſe Parts, who, (notwithſtanding that moſt of the Palatinates had fallen into the Crown, and were no longer granted out, but kept united therewith,) did yet continue to retain ſo much of the military Power, that three or four of them joining together, were able to decide the Fate of the Crown; as appeared in the Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

The leſſening of one Power is the aggrandizing of another: And *Henry* VII. having ſeen by late Experience, how formidable that of the Lords was, reſolved to reduce it, in order to increaſe his own. He durſt not attempt it openly, and therefore brought it about in a covert Way, by allowing them a Privilege, (for which they uſed formerly to pay dear enough,) to alienate their Eſtates, which were in no long Space of Time generally diſſipated: And to leſſen their Influence for the preſent, (by a Policy not unlike what hath been practiſed in our Time with

with regard to the Highlands of *Scotland*,) he endeavoured to leſſen the Attachment of the Vaſſals to their Lords; and by the famous Act of the eleventh of his Reign, provided for their Indemnification, in caſe they adhered to him or *the King for the Time being*; whereby they were ſecured from all Forfeiture of their Lands, even though their Lord was of the contrary Party, and they were obliged by their Tenures to follow him in his Hoſting, on Pain of Forfeiture, if they neglected. *Hen.* VIII. finiſhed the Work, which his Father had begun, of demoliſhing the Power of the Barons. The Biſhops and Abbots held by *Barony*, and had an infinite Number of Vaſſals; who, like thoſe of others, were obliged to follow them or their Lieutenants into the Field: And they had in all Times been ſtrenuous Aſſertors of the Cauſe of Liberty, and had, on Occaſions of defending it by Arms, generally joined with the Barons. The King got a Parliament to ſuppreſs all the Abbeys and Monaſteries, and he found himſelf Pretences and Means to get almoſt all the Biſhops Manors into his Hands. Thus ended in a manner all the real military Power of the Barons, except what remained in the Hands of 2 or 3 Lords of the *Scotch Marches*, who forfeiting in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, it hath been ſince totally extinguiſhed.

Henry VIII. indeed gave away, or ſold for a Trifle, all the Church and Abbey Lands, which coming to be the Property of Commoners, rendered them much more conſiderable than they were before, and extended their Power, particularly as to the giving of Money in Parliament. But as the Diviſion of Power always makes it leſs, or leſs capable of being exerted; as that which in 40 or 50 Hands would have a mighty Influence, comes to have very little when ſplit into as many Thouſands, for want of Union among the Parties, through the

Diverſity of Opinions, and the Difficulties of forming a Concert between ſuch Numbers, and from the Want of that Reputation, which the declaring of one of thoſe great Lords antiently gave to a Cauſe, and which encouraged others to join in it, the military Power veſted in the Barons did not deſcend with their Lands to the Commoners, but became a great Acceſſion to the royal Authority. The Lords indeed, who ſtill retained their Eſtates, and did not leave off at once all their ancient Cuſtoms, but kept up the ancient Hoſpitality, and made their Houſes the *Academies*, where all the young Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood received their Education, were taught to ride the great Horſe, and bred up in all warlike Exerciſes, (which formed in the Gentry an early Attachment to a great Family, and was one Reaſon of the great Intereſt which the M. of *Newcaſtle* appeared in 1641, to have in the Northern Counties, as it likewiſe gave the Gentlemen ſuch a *Gout* for Martial Affairs, that it became a Faſhion to go Voluntiers into a foreign Service to perfect themſelves in the Art of War,) did, for a Time, keep up a conſiderable Intereſt in their Neighbourhoods. But the Troubles of 1641 putting an End to every Thing of this Nature; the Rump Parliament firſt ſuppreſſing the Court of Wards, and all Tenures by Chivalry; and the Convention at the Reſtoration aboliſhing them for ever, and thereby taking off all the Obligation which aroſe from their Tenures to inſtruct themſelves in military Exerciſes, a very different Spirit has ſince poſſeſſed the Minds of the Gentry of *England*; the Nobility contented to hold their Lands by a baſe Tenure, and forgetting, as it were, that they once held by Barony, have altered the Condition of their Eſtates, ſetting them now at a Rack-Rent, as if nothing was valuable but ready Money; and Tenants paying the full Value of their Farms, ſcarce think themſelves ob-

liged to their Landlord. By these Means chiefly are Things come to such a Pass, that scarce a Peer, or a Gentleman, hath any Influence in the Kingdom, but what he derives purely from his Reputation, and the good Will which the Opinion of his Integrity and Virtue may procure him among the People: And thus is it, that all the military Power in the Nation is come at last to center in the Crown.

As to the civil Power, it did not at first receive much Alteration by the Conquest. Lords of Manors continued to exercise their Jurisdiction over their Vassals in all civil and criminal Matters as usual, capital Cases not excepted; The Hundred and County-Courts, and the Sheriffs *Tourn* still subsisted, with their former Jurisdictions. The Lords of Counties Palatine had as much Authority independant of the Crown in civil Matters, as they had in Military; and Mr. *Madox* tells us in his *Baronia Anglica*, pag. 154, "That several of the Lords of the *Marches* "enjoyed great Franchises in their Seigneuries, and "even a Regality which made their Seigneuries "look like Palatinates, *e. g.* They had the first "Cognizance of all Causes and Plaints within their "Lordships; they had their *Chancery*, Justiciers "and other great Officers, with an extensive Juris-"diction belonging to the chief Court of their Ho-"nour." There lay an Appeal indeed from these to the King's Court; but it could not be admitted there without being paid for, and the Fines were sometimes heavy enough. There were for this Reason the fewer Appeals; and they were generally Gentlemen of Quality and Estates that brought their Disputes thither to be determined: The common People had Justice done them nearer Home. The Conqueror's Grants had been very extensive, Hundreds of Manors being in many Cases granted to one Person; but these vast Estates coming to be shared among several Co-heirs, or Parcels thereof conveyed

to others, Cauſes came in Time to be multiplied, and the King's Court had ſo much Buſineſs, that at the general Deſire of the Kingdom, as appears by *Magna Carta*, a particular Court was aſſigned for *Common Pleas* to ſit at *Weſtminſter*; and ſoon after the *King*'s *Bench* was made ſedentary too, and all our Courts of Law eſtabliſhed by *Edward* I. in the like Form as they are at preſent. Theſe, out of a Deſire to enlarge their Juriſdiction, and by ſome Pretence and Means or other, have now engroſſed in a manner all Law Buſineſs to themſelves, the Courts of the Conſtable and Marſhal being almoſt antiquated, that of the Admiralty impaired in its Juriſdiction, and thoſe of the Hundred and County being grown in a manner uſeleſs, through the great Plenty of Money brought in the laſt 200 Years into *Europe*, which has made 40 *s.* (to Suits of which Value their Juriſdiction is generally confined,) a meer Trifle, though it was worth more formerly than 20 *l.* is now; ſo that at preſent all the Juſtice diſtributed in the Kingdom is veſted in the King's Courts.

The High Sheriff, the Coroners, and the Conſervators of the Peace continued for ſome Time after the Conqueſt to be elected by the Freeholders of each County; and becauſe theſe were eligible, Sir *Edw. Coke* ſays, *Inſt.* 2. *p.* 176, the firſt Statute of *Weſtminſter* provided, *that Elections ſhould be freely made.* "The Coroner (ſays the ſame Author, *Inſt.* "4. *cap.* 59. *p.* 271.) is eligible by the Freeholders "of the County, and ſo continues to this Day; as "of ancient Time the Sheriff and the Conſervators "of the Peace were, becauſe the People had a "great Intereſt and Safety in the due Execution of "their Offices; and ſo long as they were eligible, "they continued notwithſtanding the Demiſe of "the King, as the Coroner doth to this Day". Sir *Henry Spelman*, in his Gloſſary under the Word *Vice-*

comes, asserts with regard to Sheriffs, that they were anciently chosen by the Freeholders in a full County Court. To the same Purpose says *Lambard* in his *Eirenarcha*, *p.* 16. "As the Sheriffs were anciently chosen, and the Coroners yet be, so certain "Persons were wont to be elected Conservators of "the Peace in full County before the Sheriff: And "of this I have seen certain Records in the Patent-Roll of 5 *Edw.* I. running in this Course; "1. a Writ to the Sheriff of *Norfolk*, commanding him to chuse in a full County one *de probioribus & potentioribus* of his County, to be Guardian or Conservator of the Peace; 2. a Writ directed to the Bailiffs and Liegemen of the same County, that they should appear at the County Court to make the Election; and 3dly, another "to the Conservator elected, *John le Bretun*," which is recited by the Author at length, and bears Date 2 *Sept.* 5 *Edw.* I. So also the great Oracle of the Law before quoted, in his *Inst.* 2. and Comment on the Sttuate of *Westminster*, 1. *c.* 10. "The Coroner ever was, and still is, eligible by "the Freeholders upon the King's Writ *de Coronatore eligendo*, because both the King and Country "had a great Interest and Benefit in the due Execution of his Office, and *therefore the Common* "*Law gave the Freeholders the Election of him*; "and for the *same Reason*, of ancient Time the "*Sheriff*, who had *Custodiam Comitatus* was also eligible; and for the same Cause were also the *Conservators of the Peace*, and the Verderers of the "Forest so chosen." And to the same Purpose in his Comment on the Statute *Articuli super Chartas*, c. 8. "of ancient Times before the making of this Act, "such Officers as were instituted either for the Preservation of the Peace of a County, or for the "Execution of Justice, because it *concerned the* "*Subjects of that County*, and they had a great "Interest

" Intereſt in the juſt and due Execution of their " ſeveral Places, were by ſome of the King's Writ " choſe in full County by the Freeholders". And as to the manner of this Election, *Horne*, who was perfectly well verſed in all the ancient Cuſtoms of this Realm, and wrote his Book in the Time of *Edw.* I. ſays in his *Mirrour*, *c.* 1. §. 3. " That " Sheriffs were choſen by a Writ directed to the Co- " roner, and the Conſervators of the Peace by Writ " directed to the Sheriff."

But theſe Rights of the Freeholders did not remain long after the Conqueſt without being encroached upon, tho' *William* I. had confirmed the greateſt part of the *Saxon* Laws, and *Henry* I. had reſtored them all in general. When Princes have a Mind to aſſume a Power, they ſeldom are at a Loſs for Pretences. Thus to the Sheriffs ancient Right of guarding the County, preſerving its Peace, judging in the Tourn, and preſiding in the County Court, they ſuperadded the Charge of collecting the Fee-Farm Rents, and levying the Fines, Amercements, Scutages, and other Dues and Branches of the Revenue; and then began to conſider him as much an Officer of the Crown, as he had ever been before of the Country. This was followed by a Nomination of the Sheriff in ſome Counties, and with the Grant of an hereditary Shrievalry in others, which laſt being made to ſome great Man who had large Poſſeſſions in a County, engaged him by Intereſt to ſupport this Invaſion of the Rights of Freeholders, who being few in Number, and ſeeing the Charge put into ſo good Hands, ſubmitted the more eaſily to a Change, 'till they found it attended with ſome Inconvenience. This I ſuppoſe to be the Caſe when the Commons of *England*, in the Parliament of 28 *Edw.* I. (*A. D.* 1300.) petitioned the King for *reſtoring to* his People the Election of Sheriffs. That great Prince, who of all our Kings, beſt un-

derſtood the Arts of Government, and ever conſulted the good of his People, provided accordingly by the Statute of *Articuli ſuper Cartas*, that *the Commons ſhould have the Election of Sheriffs in every Shire*, where the Shrievalty was not of Fee: And ſo it remained till the turbulent Reign of his Succeſſor; in whoſe 9th Year, by a Parliament held at *Lincoln*, the Nomination of Sheriffs was left to the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Barons of the *Exchequer*, and Judges; with a Reſtriction that no Bailiff or Steward of a great Lord ſhould be appointed, nor any but who had a ſufficient Eſtate within the Shire. It was afterwards ordained by Statute 12 *Rich.* II. *c.* 2. that the great Officers of the Crown, and all the Judges ſhould be called to the naming of Sheriffs, and be ſworn not to ordain, name or make them by any Gift or Brocage, Favour or Affection; but they ſhould be of the moſt lawful and ſufficient Men, to their Eſtimation and Knowledge. What made the Commons the more eaſily content themſelves with ſuch Reſtrictions, and conſent to this Regulation, was probably the Aſſurance they had of their regular meeting in Parliament, for the Redreſs of any Grievance, by the late fixing of their Repreſentation by *Edw.* I. in ſuch a wiſe Proportion of the Numbers of Repreſentatives for the Counties, great Towns, and leſſer Boroughs, as continued to the great Happineſs of this Nation, till the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; between which Time and the Death of King *Charles* I. that Proportion was gradually altered, till at laſt it was entirely deſtroyed by the Addition of 250 Repreſentatives of poor inconſiderable Boroughs; the Venality whereof hath expoſed us to all the Evils of a general Corruption, the greateſt Grievance that any Nation can poſſibly labour under, and which cannot fail of being the Ruin of this, if not ſpeedily remedied.

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The Coroner having no Addition to the ancient Powers of his Office, it continued Elective, as it was originally: And ſo did that of the ordinary Conſervators or Juſtices of the Peace, for 260 Years after the Conqueſt. Our Kings indeed, annexed a like Power over the Kingdom in general to the great Offices of the Crown, and ſometimes, in a particular County, to the Tenure of ſome great Man's Eſtate therein. They likewiſe on extraordinary Occaſions iſſued Commiſſions to extraordinary Conſervators, for defending the Coaſts from Foreign Enemies, and the Country from Domeſtic Inſurrections, with Power to call the Sheriff and *Poſſe* to their Aſſiſtance. But this was done in very rare Inſtances, and the Writs (as Mr. *Lambard* in his *Juſtice of Peace, pag.* 17—20, informs us,) iſſued out regularly for the Election of the ordinary Conſervators by the Freeholders, till the firſt Year of *Edw.* III; when Queen *Iſabel*, having depoſed her Huſband, advanced her Son, a Minor, to the Throne, and got a Parliament to ſupport her in all her iniquitous Meaſures, procured an Act (1 *Edw.* III. *c.* 15.) for the aſſigning in every Shire of the Realm good Men and lawful (who were no Maintainers of Evil nor Barretors in the County) to keep the Peace. *This was done* (ſays *Lambard*) *to prevent the Reſcue of* Edw. II. *who was conveyed ſecretly by Night from Houſe to Houſe, and from Caſtle to Caſtle; and for this Cauſe the Election of the ordinary Conſervators or Wardens of the Peace, was firſt taken from the People, and tranſlated to the Aſſignment of the King*; who began in the 34th of his Reign, to appoint them by ſpecial Commiſſions for each County; ſoon after which they began to be commonly called Juſtices of the Peace, their ordinary Stile at preſent. The Commons imagining they could eaſily get any Grievance redreſſed by Parliament, did not appear afterwards ſo ſolicitous to recover their

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own Rights, as to take care that the Power ſhould be lodged in proper Perſons duly qualified. For this End it was provided, by 12 *Rich.* II. *c.* 10. that no *Steward* of any Lord ſhould be in the Commiſſion of the Peace; and by 13 *Rich.* II. *c.* 7. that Juſtices of Peace ſhould be made of the moſt ſufficient Knights, Eſquires, and Men of Law. The like Proviſion is made in 2 *Hen.* V. *Parl.* 2. *c.* 1: And to ſecure the Obſervance thereof, it was upon a Complaint of inſufficient Perſons being made Commiſſioners of the Peace, enacted by the ſame Parliament, *c.* 2. that they ſhould be aſſigned by the Advice of the Chancellor and the King's Council: And by 18 *Hen.* VI. *c.* 11. that upon Notice of any Juſtice of Peace, who had not Lands to the Value of 20 *l.* a Year, the Chancellor ſhould put another in his Place; and for want of ſufficient Perſons having Lands of that Value, he was directed to appoint diſcreet Perſons learned in the Law, though they had not Lands to that Value. It muſt be obſerved that 20 *l.* a Year was then the reputed Value of a Knight's Fee, and worth 500 *l.* or even 1000 *l.* a Year, as Lands are ſet at preſent: And it was certainly the Spirit and Intent of that Act, that nobody of a leſs Eſtate, than what now, by the accidentally increaſed Plenty of Money, would ſet for this laſt Sum, ſhould be put into the Commiſſion; even though in thoſe Days there were very few Perſons that had ſo large an Eſtate in any County.

Thus did all the Civil Power center at laſt in the Crown: And this Power hath been ever ſince encreaſing; particularly as to Juſtices of the Peace, by a Cuſtom of long ſtanding, though introduced without thinking of the Conſequences, of putting the Execution of all Laws and Regulations into the Hands of Perſons, who had ſo much of a Diſcretionary Power, even in their original Inſtitution, that in ſome Caſes it appeared to be arbitrary. Ever

ſince

ſince we have had any Laws for the Maintenance of the Poor, the Juſtices of Peace have had a Power of amending the Rates, and redreſſing any Complaints of the Inequality of ſuch Aſſeſſments in Pariſhes; but 'tis of late only that they have aſſumed a Power of altering the Poor Rates without any Complaint at all, of putting in and ſtriking out whom they pleaſed in an Election-Year, in order to diſqualify ſome Perſons who had a right to vote in Boroughs, and afford a Pretence to qualify others who had none; that ſo Members might be returned, who otherwiſe never would have been choſen; a Practice which if it once becomes general, (as no Iniquity does at once, though ſure to become ſo, if it carries its Point, and paſſes with Impunity,) will put the Elections of all the Boroughs of *England*, where Scot and Lotmen have Votes, in the Power of Juſtices of the Peace, and be the utter Ruin of our Conſtitution. Every Body knows the dangerous Powers put into their Hands by the Riot-Act, and that which carries for its plauſible Title, *An Act for indemnifying Perſons, who have been guilty of Offences againſt the Laws, made for ſecuring the Revenues of Cuſtoms and Exciſe*, &c. This Anſwer is already drawn out to a greater Length than I expected, and therefore I ſhall not offer to repreſent the Conſequences of theſe, nor enumerate a great many Acts, which otherwiſe are very fit to be conſidered. But let any thinking Man reflect ſeriouſly on the prodigious Number of Penal Laws made, for the Security of the Government, or on other Accounts and Pretences. ſince the Revolution; and the multitude of Taxes that have been laid ſince that Time, upon Windows, upon all exciſeable and other Commodities; and an enormous Acceſſion of Power, and Influence over all Ranks and Orders of Men, by putting the Execution of all theſe into their Hands, hath accrued to the Juſtices of Peace; let

him do this, and though he be never ſo brave, he will be apt to tremble with Apprehenſions of the Danger to which, without a full Aſſurance of the Virtue and Integrity of the Gentlemen entruſted with that Office, the Lives and Liberties of all the People of *England* would be expoſed.

Juſtices of Peace have, ever ſince the People parted with their Rights of electing them, been the Creatures of the Crown: They owe to its Deſignation all the exorbitant Power, which is placed in their Hands, and which they are ready always to employ as directed by the Adminiſtration. Any new Truſt or Authority veſted in them, as they are put in and removed at Pleaſure, is a proportionable Acceſſion to the Power of the Crown: Which hath been aggrandized in various other Manners. The Author of *the ſhort Hiſtory of Standing-Armies in England*, publiſhed in 1698, mentions one, which is the more alarming, becauſe (as he apprehended) it may come in Time to be made a Means of Corruption, even with Regard to Parliaments; "the Fountain-"Head from whence the People expect all their "Happineſs, and the Redreſs of their Grievances. "Our Conſtitution (ſays he) ſeems to have pro-"vided for keeping them free from Corruption, "by never ſuffering the King to have a mercenary "Army to frighten them into a Compliance, nor "Places or Revenues great enough to bribe them "into it. The Places in the King's Gift were but "few, and moſt of them Patent Places for Life, "and the reſt great Offices of State, enjoyed by "ſingle Perſons, which ſeldom fell to the Share of "the Commons; ſuch as the Lords, Chancellor, "Treaſurer, Privy-Seal, High-Admiral, *&c.* and "when theſe Offices were poſſeſſed by the Lords, "the Commons were ſevere Inquiſitors into their "Actions.—In thoſe early Days, the Art was not "found out of ſplitting and multiplying Places;

"as

" as inſtead of a Lord-Tr——r, to have 5 Lords " of the Tr——ry; inſtead of a Lord-Ad——l, " to have 7 Lords of the Ad——ty; to have 7 " Commiſſioners of the C——ms, 9 of the " Ex——ſe, 14 of the N——vy-Office, 10 of the " St——mp-Office, 8 of the Pr——ze-Office, 16 " of the Commiſſioners of Tr——de, 2 of the " P——ſt-Office, 4 of the Tranſports, 4 for " Hackney-Coaches, 4 for Wine-Licences, 4 for " the Victualling-Office, and multitudes of other " Offices which are endleſs to enumerate.——I ſee " no Reaſon why they may not be made twice as " many, and ſo *ad infinitum*, unleſs the Number be " aſcertained by Parliament; and what Danger this " may be to our Conſtitution, I think of with " Horror. For if in Ages to come they ſhould be " all given to Parliament-Men, what will become " of our ſo much boaſted Liberty? What ſhall be " done when the Criminal becomes the Judge, and " the Malefactors are left to try themſelves? We " may be ſure their common Danger will unite " them, and they will ſtand by one another. I " do not ſpeak this by Gueſs; for I have read of " a Country, where there was a conſtant Series of " Miſmanagement for many Years together, and " yet no-Body was puniſhed: and even in our own " Country, I believe ſome Men now alive can re- " member the Time, when, if the King had but " 20 more Places in his Diſpoſal, or diſpoſed of " thoſe he had to the beſt Advantage, the Liberty " of *England* had been at an End."

Thus does that Author, no leſs a Whig than Mr. *Trenchard*, repreſent the Danger which threatened the Conſtitution from the multitude of gainful Offices in his Time, and the Diſpoſal thereof, ſo as to influence a Parliament. Whether the Evil he complains of is ſince leſſened, or the Dangers he apprehended removed, the World can eaſily judge.

One Thing at leaſt is certain, that there have been a vaſt Number of new Taxes created ſince that Time, and conſequently the Number of Officers, charged in managing, or employed in collecting them, muſt be proportionably increaſed. This muſt of Courſe increaſe the Influence of the Crown; and the Treaſury having the Diſpoſal of all Offices belonging to the Revenue, may, if they ſee fit, employ the greater to gain Partiſans within Doors, and the leſſer to corrupt People without. In all Countries of the World, the Officers of the Revenue, even the inferior Ones, have great Hanks over the People upon whom it is levied; and by the Laws of the Exciſe, the Officers employed in thoſe Duties here, have as much Power to plague all that are ſubject to pay any Part thereof, as in any Quarter of the World whatever. This muſt naturally give them a great Influence on Elections; and the Officers concerned in the Salt-Duties, and other Branches of the Revenue, do not fail to be ſerviceable in the ſame way; at leaſt it was public Talk ſome Years about *Liverpool*, that ſome Hundreds of them had been made free to carry an Election-Point, which it was not thought convenient to truſt to other Hands, than ſuch as were under the abſolute Direction of their Superiors. This Uſe of ſuch under-Officers for defeating the Freedom of Elections, is peculiar to our Country; for in other Countries, as particularly in *France*, they ſerve for the ſame Purpoſe as a Standing-Army, ever ready at the Beck of the Government, whoſe Pay they receive, to ſupport any Meaſures taken for the enſlaving of the People.

They are a numerous Force, unknown to our Nation till this laſt Age, but not the leſs grievous for its Novelty; they are however leſs formidable than a Standing-Army, trained up to War, and inured to Blood and Slaughter, which they are taught

taught to consider as their proper Business, and to make an implicite Obedience to the Orders of their superior Officer, the first Principle of their Religion. The Danger of such a Military Force hath been taken Notice of before; I shall only observe now, that there are two Circumstances attending it here, which render it more inconvenient and dangerous in this, than in any other Country whatever. The one regards the common Soldiers, who are listed, not as in *France* and other Places for six Years, after which they may demand their Dismission, and if their Captain refuses it, may yet quit the Service, but for the Term of their Lives; so that seeing themselves subjected for ever to arbitrary Orders, and in that Respect a sort of Slaves, without any Prospect of Redemption, they are naturally tempted to look with Envy on the Freedom of all about them, and inclined to reduce their Countrymen to a like Condition with themselves. As six Years Time is more than sufficient to make any Soldier perfect in Discipline, and as the more there are instructed in the Art of War, the better will the Nation be enabled to make Head against a Foreign Enemy: it is not easy, if that be the only view in keeping a Standing-Army, to conceive why Soldiers, who are weary of an idle Life, should not have, after six Years Service, the same Liberty of quitting it here, as they are indulged in *France*, nor why any Motion for such an Indulgence should be rejected. The other relates to the Officers, who though Members of a *Corps*, maintained by the Money of the Nation, and ever deemed incompatible with its Liberties, are yet allowed to sit in the House of Commons. On this Subject I remember to have heard the late Earl of *Anglesea*, relate an Observation of his Father-in-law, the late Lord *Haversham*, who comparing the Politics of *Oliver*'s Days with those of later Times,

uſed to give the Advantage to the latter, in the Point of managing Parliaments; ſaying, " that " when *Cromwell* had a Mind to get them into any " Step they did not like, he inveſted the Houſe of " Commons with a Body of Soldiers, and forced " the Members to vote as he directed; but this " was an open Violence to the Conſtitution, and " created a deal of ill Blood; whereas later Politi- " cians had fallen into an eaſier and much ſurer Me- " thod of carrying their Points; for inſtead of fill- " ing the Lobby with Officers and Soldiers, they " opened the Doors of the Houſe, and let them " into a Place, where they could do more Miſ- " chief by their Votes, that they were capable of " doing by their Arms without".

Dangerous as Standing Armies are to the Liberties of a Nation, they are not more ſo, in the Opinion of ſome wiſe Men, than *Standing Taxes* may prove; eſpecially when they produce large Supplies of Money; for Armies cannot ſubſiſt unleſs they are paid; but with ſuch Supplies, there is nothing but they are capable of executing. Now our Standing Taxes, appropriated to the Civil Liſt, the Sinking Fund, and the Payment of the national Debt, produce by common Computation about *five Millions* a Year; a Sum which Sir *W. Petty* ſays, will pay 100,000 Foot, 40,000 Horſe, and 40,000 Seamen for a Year. There is no Occaſion for a Parliament to meet for granting this Sum, ſince the Taxes are laid already, and continue for Years to come. Dr. *Davenant* long ago foreſaw the Danger, to which the Conſtitution was expoſed from this Quarter; and therefore at a Time, when only Funds of three Millions and an half were ſettled for the Security of Lenders, he complained of it " as a " great Defect in our Conſtitution, that ſufficient " Proviſion was not made againſt diverting and " miſapplying the public Treaſure, and againſt

" break-

" breaking into appropriated Funds; and in a Word, " that the Laws had not made it criminal enough " to ſtop Payments in the *Exchequer*." I do not believe the *By-Stander* can point out any new Proviſion made ſince that Time; and yet with regard to the Situation of Things in 1699, when his *Eſſay on the probable Methods to make a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade* was printed, he expreſſes himſelf from *p.* 169, to *p.* 174 of that Treatiſe to this Effect. " Whoever conſiders the vaſt Number of " Duties now a-foot, will find that 'tis not impoſſi- " ble to make them the Engines, wherewith bad " Men ſome Time or other may endeavour to un- " dermine our civil Rights. 'Tis true, in this " Reign we have no Reaſon to entertain ſuch a " Fear: But a Country that will preſerve its Con- " ſtitution, muſt provide againſt remote Dangers. " Suppoſe then a Government in the Poſſeſſion of " ſuch a large Revenue, at firſt legally granted, " put into a Method of Collection, and to the Pay- " ment of which the People ſhall be accuſtomed. " And ſuppoſe in ſome future Reign the Miniſters " ſhould be either weary or afraid of Parliaments, " and deſirous to govern by the Sword and without " Law. That this may happen is not impoſſible, " becauſe we have heretofore ſeen Stateſmen ſo " diſpoſed. Suppoſe then an ambitious and deſpe- " rate Sett of Men, with all theſe Thoughts about " them, and reſolved to make their Maſter abſo- " lute, may they not with the Help of ſuch an am- " ple Revenue, quite overthrow our Conſtitution? " Arbitrary Miniſters have heretofore *ſtopped the* " *Exchequer*; and if we ſhould ever ſee Men of " the ſame Stamp upon the Stage of Buſineſs, 'tis " not impoſſible but they may run into the ſame " wicked Meaſures, *eſpecially if they ſhould be backed* " *with the Support of a Standing Army. The Liber-* " *ties of a People are but in a very precarious Condi-*

" *tion*,

" *tion, when they can be ſubverted by one pernicious* " *Counſel.*"

More might be ſaid on the Subject, but this is enough to encourage me to leave it even to the *By-Stander* himſelf to determine, whether the Power of the Crown is not now raiſed to a much greater Height than it ever attained before, ſince *England* was a Nation. And what Power is there in the People to ballance this of the Crown? Whilſt military Tenures ſubſiſted, they were bred up in military Exerciſes, trained to War, and had Arms in their Hands: Now they are naked and defenceleſs, unarmed, undiſciplined, and unexperienced. In former Days they had Leaders that underſtood the Art of War, and that of their own Vaſſals had Followers enough to make up a Body of Men ſufficient to encourage others to reſort to it and form an Army: Now there is no ſuch Thing, no warlike Leader, no great Man with ſuch a following in all the Kingdom. The People, now having no Head, are a looſe Multitude, a Rope of Sand, and are to be conſidered only as ſo many Individuals or ſingle Perſons, without any means of Union among themſelves, and without almoſt any Poſſibility of acting in Concert; for where there is neither Confidence nor Secrecy; where in Conſequence of a general Corruption, Jealouſies are univerſally entertained and have got Poſſeſſion of the Minds of Men, it is impracticable for any Number of Gentlemen to meet and agree in Meaſures, or to get together a Body of Men, not bound by Tenures, but perfectly independent, to venture their Lives with them. A Standing Army carries Terror enough along with it to keep any ſuch Deſign from entering into their Heads, or at leaſt hath Power more than enough to cruſh them the firſt Moment they attempt to put it in Execution; and if there were none, an Adminiſtration ſo extreamly vigilant, ſo full of Suſpi-

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cions at all Times, and ſo apt to take Alarms on any, even the leaſt Occaſion, and that hath Intelligence from all Quarters, could eaſily prevent any Thing of that Nature, by ſecuring the Perſons of the ſuſpected; when a Parliament upon the leaſt Meſſage or Intimation of any ſuch Deſign, would not fail to ſuſpend the great Barriers of our Liberty, the *Petition of Right* paſſed by King *Charles* I. and the *Habeas Corpus* Act by King *Charles* II. and give a Power for ſeizing and detaining in Priſon whomſoever the Crown ſhould ſee Reaſon to ſuſpect. This we have ſeen done ſo often ſince the Revolution, and ſo conſtantly, whenever it hath been demanded, without the leaſt Heſitation, or the taking of any needleſs Precautions to guard againſt an Abuſe of ſo extraordinary a Power, that there is little room to doubt but it will be readily granted again, as often as it ſhall be repreſented as neceſſary. The Circumſtances attending one of theſe Suſpenſions, as I have heard them related by ſome worthy Members of the Convention-Parliament after the Revolution, ſeem ſufficient to give one this Aſſurance; I think it was the Act which paſſed on *April* 24, 1689. The Earl of *Arran*, afterwards Duke *Hamilton*, had that Day been brought by an *Habeas Corpus* to the *King's-Bench* Bar, and moved to be bailed, but the Attorney General not being in the Way, the Earl was remanded with Aſſurances from the Court, that he ſhould be bailed on the Morrow, if Mr. Attorney did not attend and ſhew Cauſe to the Contrary. But he was diſappointed, for that very Afternoon a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, read thrice there, ſent to the Commons, read thrice, paſſed, and had the royal Aſſent that Night; ſo expeditiouſly can the Houſes upon Occaſion paſs Bills of that Nature. In ſuch Circumſtances of a Nation, it is not eaſy to conceive, how the People can be ſaid to have any Power at all; nor

doth the *By-Stander* assign them any, unless it be a Power of Money; to which they have so little Pretension at present, that it looks like scoffing at and insulting their Misery to urge it, at a Time when by a Load of Taxes, the Decay of Trade, and the want of Vent for their Manufactures, they seem hastening a-pace on the high Road to Poverty, and all the unhappy Consequences thereof. And whatever Room there may be to dispute the Connexion between some Things that are often tacked to one another, there can be little Doubt, but that Beggary and Slavery generally go together; the one treads close upon the Heels of the other, and they are such near Allies and such constant Companions, that where the former fixes her Abode, the latter is ever sure to take up her Habitation.

There is no Way to prevent these, but by taking effectual Measures to put a Stop to that general Corruption, which all the World complains of, and which, if continued, will make both inevitable; for stripped as the People are of all their ancient Power, both Civil and Military, they have nothing left to ballance the excessive Power of the Crown, but what they derive from their Representation in Parliament; and this, whenever Corruption prevails there, becomes a mere Shew; instead of a real Security, it only serves to lull the Nation into a false one; Liberty runs the greatest Danger from that very Quarter which ought to support it, and can never be so surely ruined as by its natural Guardians. The Nation in general seem sufficiently sensible of the Danger, and have instructed their Representatives to provide against it by Acts, to limit the Number of Placemen in the House of Commons, to incapacitate Pensioners for sitting there, to prevent false Returns of Members, and Bribery and Corruption in Elections, and to restore Triennial Parliaments. These are all very good Things, but

but are they adequate to the Evil? And will theſe Remedies be effectual? There was in the Act for ſettling the Proteſtant Succeſſion, a very good Proviſion made againſt Placemen ſitting in the Houſe of Commons: Yet we have ſeen it either repealed or explained away. Will any other Act be more ſacred, than that, which had ſo much of the Nature of an original Contract? We have known various Acts paſs for preventing falſe Returns of Members, and Bribery and Corruption in Elections: But did they ever effectually put a Stop to either of thoſe Grievances, and have they not been conſtantly evaded? We have had formerly Acts for Triennial Parliaments: But have they not been repealed? The Breath of a new Parliament may, and that of a corrupt one will, eaſily blow away all that a good one hath done in theſe Reſpects: And what Security can be provided againſt this Danger? What Remedy can be found for an Inconvenience, that ſeems rooted in our Conſtitution?

The *By-Stander*, *p.* 49, *&c.* ſuggeſts a Method which he ſeems apprehenſive may take place, and which indeed would go to the Root of that Corruption, which threatens the utter Ruin of our Conſtitution: 'Tis the *taking of the principal Part of the Management of the public Revenues entirely from the Crown, and lodging it for the future in other Hands, uncontroulable by the Crown.* Such a Method is entirely proper, and becomes abſolutely neceſſary, whenever the public Revenues and Charges are abuſed, to deſtroy the Freedom of Elections, to bribe the Repreſentatives of the People into a Breach of Truſt and betraying of their Rights and Liberties, to corrupt the Virtue of the Nation, and to ruin that Conſtitution which they were given and intended to ſupport: And I have before ſhewed Precedents enough for it in the Reigns of K. *Charles* II. and *James* I. and other Princes. The *pecuniary In-*

fluence of the Crown ariſes from its Officers having the entire Management of the public Revenues: And if the Parliament ſhould think fit to take it into their own Hands, and entruſt it to Commiſſioners of their own Appointment, it would not only prevent any ill Effects of that Influence, but render their own Body infinitely more conſiderable. It is an old Obſervation, that Popes had vaſtly more Writers in favour of their exorbitant Claims, than general Councils had to ſupport their juſt Rights; the Reaſon of which was, that the former had abundance of Preferments to beſtow, the latter had none at all. The Caſe is the ſame between the Crown and the Parliament; but were the latter to take the Management of the Revenues into their Hands, and commit the Receipts and Iſſues thereof to their own Commiſſioners and Officers, they would ſoon have as great Court made to them, as ever was made to the moſt deſpotic Miniſter at the Head of the Treaſury. The Commons would have no Reaſon to envy the ſuperior Dignity of the Lords, whilſt they found themſelves more capable of doing Good in the World, of encouraging Merit, and of reſtoring the Virtue of their Country. Gentlemen, and indeed all Orders of Men through the Kingdom, would then endeavour to deſerve well of their Country, as the only Way to recommend them to the Favour of Parliament for Preferment: They would enjoy their Poſts with Honour and Dignity in the Eye of the World, and with an inexpreſſible Satisfaction in their own Breaſts, when they owe them purely to their Merit, and not to the dear-bought Favour of a Miniſter, whoſe Benefactions are not to be obtained at a leſs Rate, than the Diſhonour of a Man's Character, and the Ruin of his Virtue. This would naturally bring the Nation to that happy Paſs, ſo much recommended by Dr. *Davenant*, in the 5th Section of his *Eſſay* before quoted,

quoted, where he proves, *that a Country cannot increaſe in Wealth and Power, but by private Men doing their Duty to the Public, and by a ſteady Courſe of Honeſty and Wiſdom in ſuch as are truſted with the Adminiſtration of Affairs.* We have formerly ſeen Clubs ſet up, of Members that declared againſt accepting Places; and if we ſhould ſee any Combinations made, or Unions formed, (and what will not Union and Perſeverance do?) for carrying a Point, tending to make their Country great, wealthy, and happy; and neceſſary to put a Stop to a general Corruption, which will be the Ruin of its Virtue, it will be no Deviation from the Inſtructions of their Conſtituents, who have ſo generally and earneſtly recommended to them to take effectual Meaſures for thoſe Ends. Nothing is more reaſonble, than that People ſhould have the Management and Diſpoſal of their own Money: And if the Houſe of Commons ſhould think fit to reſume it into their own Hands, it would not only put a Stop to Corruption at once, but be likewiſe a rational Security againſt it for the future, ſince they would be *felo's de ſe*, if they ever parted with a Power that muſt render them ſo conſiderable.

It is fit that every Body ſhould have ſome determinate Ends in their Actions, and fix on determinate Meaſures proper to advance thoſe Ends: Otherwiſe their Conduct muſt be unſteady, and no Point will ever be carried. It is fit likewiſe, that every Man ſhould conſider of all Means, that may conduce to the rooting out of Corruption, and the reſtoring of the Ballance of the Conſtitution. The *By-Stander* has offered to the Conſideration of the World, one Method for this Purpoſe, which by intereſting *the Parliament* in it, may in all Likelihood produce the Effect: He hath no Reaſon to take it ill, if I follow his Example, and offer another, which may as much intereſt *their Conſtituents*. *It is*

the reſtoring to the Freeholders of England *their ancient Right of chuſing the High Sheriffs and Juſtices of Peace in the County Courts.* They acquieſced in the giving up of thoſe Powers, at a Time when they conceived their civil Rights were fully ſecured by the ſettled Conſtitution and Incorruption of Parliaments, and by the wiſe Proportion, with Regard to the ſeveral Intereſts in the Kingdom, obſerved in the Number of their Repreſentatives; and likewiſe at a Time when the military Power of the Nation lay chiefly in the Hands of the Subject. The Freeholders of thoſe Days never imagined, that their Repreſentatives, who repreſent likewiſe all the landed Intereſt in the Kingdom, ſhould come, 2 or 3 hundred Years afterwards, to be outnumbered, 3 to 1, by a new Sett of Repreſentatives of little beggarly Burroughs; which being poor, are expoſed to be venal, and having little or nothing of their own, have yet by the Majority of their Attorneys, the ſovereign Diſpoſal of the Property and Liberties of all the Freeholders of *England*, without the Conſent of any one of their Repreſentatives. They thought full as little of all the ordinary military Power of the Kingdom's falling into the Hands of the Crown; much leſs had they any Notion, that this could ever come to be deemed inſufficient for the Safety of a Realm, which, in their Days, made all their Neighbours tremble for Dread of its Power; and that it ſhould be pretended a Standing Army was neceſſary for a further Security. But now that they ſee the Ballance of the Repreſentation deſtroyed, and all the Security, which they promiſed themſelves from thence, defeated and taken away; when they ſee not only the ordinary Militia entirely in the Hands of the Crown, but a mercenary Army kept up at a vaſt Expence out of their Property, and ready at the Word of Command to ſeize the reſt, and commit any other Violence that the Commander ſhall think fit to order;

der; when they ſee this, it is high Time for them to think of getting back ſome of their ancient civil Power, that they may be the better able to take care of their civil Rights. The Power of chuſing Juſtices of the Peace, would ſecure them effectually from an infinite Number of Oppreſſions in various Ways, which it is in the Power of thoſe Magiſtrates (too often the Tools of a corrupt Miniſter) to exerciſe; and the Influence, which Men of Merit, Integrity, and Fortune, inveſted with that Magiſtracy, and diſtributing Juſtice with an equitable and impartial Hand, muſt have on the little Burroughs in their Neighbourhood, may contribute ſomething towards correcting the Inconveniences ariſing from the Want of a proper Ballance in our parliamentary Repreſentation. The Power of electing High Sheriffs would prevent that arbitrary Force uſed in Elections, and thoſe undue Returns of Members, of which we have heard but too much of late Years; particularly at the late general Election; and would be of infinite Service for preſerving the Freedom and right Conſtitution of Parliaments. Both are neceſſary for reſtoring the Ballance of our Conſtitution, and ſo far as they go towards that End, will be likely to maintain their Ground. For if the Freeholders of *England* come to be once again poſſeſſed of the Right of chuſing High Sheriffs and Juſtices of Peace, and to experience the Benefits they will thence derive, an Houſe of Commons will hardly venture to take away a Right, in which all the landed Men in the Kingdom are ſo deeply intereſted; nor can it be done without cauſing a terrible Convulſion in the Nation.

Machiavel ſays, "That to render a Common-"wealth long lived, it is neceſſary to correct it of-"ten, and reduce it towards its firſt Principles". When the Ballance of a Conſtitution is deſtroyed, there is no Way of reſtoring it more proper, than by

by having Recourſe to thoſe ancient Uſages, of which we have had Experience, and under which the Nation hath long flouriſhed. The old Rights of Freeholders in electing theſe two Kinds of Magiſtrates, are Branches of Power merely Civil, and of too harmleſs and inoffenſive a Nature to give any Jealouſy to a Prince, wiſe enough to place his own Greatneſs in the Happineſs of his Subjects. Theſe would naturally allay the Ferment which appears at preſent in the Nation; theſe would quiet the Minds of a People, uneaſy to the higheſt Degree, under the terrible Apprehenſions they have of the Loſs of their Liberties, and the Ruin of the Conſtitution by a Deluge of Corruption, carried on for a long Series of Years with Impunity, notwithſtanding the regular Sitting of Parliaments. And certainly, if they have Reaſon to think their own Repreſentatives infected with it, never had People a juſter Cauſe of Uneaſineſs; for if Parliaments (the only Branch of Power as yet left in the Hands of the Subject) ſhould once grow corrupt, and giving up their Country, ſhould devote themſelves to the Service of a Miniſter that bribes them, they will never puniſh Corruption in others; they will be ready, if not to juſtify, at leaſt to ſcreen all Iniquities; and far from redreſſing any, will become themſelves the greateſt of Grievances. In ſuch a Caſe, the Condition of a Nation is deſperate; there is an End of all Hopes of Relief from Oppreſſion, and of all Expectation of public Good; the People are deprived of the only Guardians of their Liberties, and having no other Means to preſerve them, they are loſt without Reſource: In a Word, *the Conſtitution itſelf is ſubverted*, in the Opinion of the *Great Mr. Lock*, who thus expreſſes himſelf on the Subject of the Corruption of Parliaments, in his *Treatiſe of Civil Government*, *Book* 2. *c.* 19. *of the Diſſolution of Government*. " The ſupreme Executor (ſays he) acts

" con-

" contrary to this Truſt, when he either employs " the Force, Treaſure, and Offices of the Society, " to corrupt the Repreſentatives and gain them to " his Purpoſes, or openly engages the Electors, " and preſcribes to their Choice ſuch, whom he has " by Sollicitations, Threats, Promiſes, or other- " wiſe won to his Deſigns, and employs them to " bring in ſuch who have promiſed before-hand, " what to vote, and what to enact. Thus to regu- " late Candidates and Electors, and new-model the " Ways of Election, what is it but *to cut up the* " *Government by the Roots, and poiſon the very Foun-* " *tain of public Security?* To prepare ſuch an Aſ- " ſembly as this, and endeavour to ſet up the de- " clared Abettors of his own Will, for the true " Repreſentatives of the People, and the Law- " makers of the Society, is certainly *as great a* " *Breach of Truſt, and as perfect a Declaration of a* " *Deſign to ſubvert the Government, as is poſſible to* " *be met with*".

APPENDIX.

N°. I.

A particular of the Charges of the Dutch *in the Expedition, for bringing over the Prince of* Orange *into* England *in* 1688, *as delivered to the House of Commons of* England *on* March 14, 1688-9, *and entered on the Journal of that Day*, viz.

	l.	*s.*	*d*
CHarge of the Fleet, as *per* Accompt delivered to the States, *Feb.* 28, 1688-9.	2,288,464	0	0
Moſt of it in Service till *March* 22, 1688-9, and employed in Tranſporting the Prince of *Orange*'s Baggage, *&c.*	189,616	0	0
Loſs of two Ships, of 48 Guns, and Cargo,	59,500	0	0
Proviſions, Oats, Hay, Saddles, Stables, *&c.* at *Amſterdam*, and Coaſt of Embarkation till their Departure,	186,000	0	0
Freight of Merchant-Ships and Tranſports, from *Oct.* 10, 1688, to *March* 15.	1,245,000	0	0
Ships accidentally caſt away, or taken by the *French*, about	60,000	0	0
Proviſions bought when the Fleet was drove back by Storm,	157,000	0	0
Pilots, beſides thoſe in the *Thames*,	44,000	0	0
Artillery and Ammunition, either not brought back or deteriorated, and Charges to Fiſher-boats that landed the Forces from *Oct.* 10. to *Feb.* 20. with Loſs of 6 of them,	47,888	0	0

Pay

	l.	s.	d.
Pay of General Officers,	1,615,989	6	8
Charge of Artillery, Hoſpitals, &c.	85,612	19	8
Pay to *French* Proteſtant Officers, divided among the Regiments,	77,346	0	0
Freight for Boats bringing Stores to the general Rendezvous, and after aboard the Ships	66,960	0	0
Quartering the Soldiers,	89,624	2	8
Waggons that followed the Army,	169,911	0	0
Horſes bought inſtead of thoſe loſt in the Storm,	81,264	0	0
Charges to his Majeſty's Followers and Forces that came over, and in raiſing Lord *Mordant*'s, Sir *Robert Peyton*'s, and Sir *John Guiſes*'s Regiments,	250,000	0	0
Pay to Horſe and Dragoons,	391,430	12	6
Pay to Foot Soldiers,	531,205	19	8
Paid to ſeveral Princes for Charges of raiſing and ſending their Forces, with their ordinary Payments,	1,100,000	0	0
Total *	7,301,332	1	8

* No Power in *Europe* could make ſuch an Embarkation ſo cheap as *Holland*, and it is not conſiſtent with common Senſe to imagine that any of them, would put themſelves to the Expence of *Seven Millions*, to make an Attempt on *England*, with ſuch a certain Loſs, and very little Hopes of Succeſs.

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N°. II.

List of Sums of Money with which the Convention-Parliament of 1660 *loaded the Excise, Monthly Assessments, and other Branches of the Revenue, taken out of the Journals of the House of Commons, with the Day on which each Sum was respectively granted.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
May 1, 1660, Present to the King, and borrowed of the City of *London*, at 6 *per Cent.*	50,000	0	0
May 5, —— Sir *John Greenville*,	500	0	0
May 9, —— Admiral *Montague*,	500	0	0
—— Duke of *York*,	5000	0	0
—— Duke of *Gloceſter*,	5000	0	0
May 11, To ſupply the Duke of *York*'s Occaſions,	10,000	0	0
May 16, To General *Maſſey*, 944 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.* due to him by Order of both Houſes, dated *Oct.* 2, 1646, with Intereſt thereon, at 8 *per Cent.* above	2000	0	0
To Preparations and Furniture for the King's Reception, *&c.*	30,000	0	0
May 26, For Relief of maimed Soldiers,	2000	0	0
June 4, To Gen. *Maſſey* 1000 *l.* due to him by Order of Commons and Lords, on *July* 12, 1647; with Intereſt from that Day, at 6 *per Cent.* about	1780	0	0
June 5, To General *Monk*, to be forthwith paid	20,000	0	0
June 20, To the Queen Mother, to be remitted to her	20,000	0	0
June 30, For preſent Subſiſtence to the Garriſon of *Dunkirk*,	4800	0	0

	l.	s.	d.
July 12, To the Earl of *Manchester* 5000 *l.* Debt, with Interest for 21 Years	11,300	0	0
July 17, To Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, a Debt of	2155	15	10
To *Rob. Swale*, a Debt of	1000	0	0
July 30, To Sir *George Booth*,	10,000	0	0
Aug. 18, To *Samuel Vassal*,	2600	0	0
Aug. 27, To the Garrison of *Dunkirk* 1000 Chaldron of Coals (at 30 *s.* a Chaldron)	1500	0	0
Sept. 1, To the Duke of *York*,	10,000	0	0
To the Duke of *Gloucester*,	7000	0	0
Sept. 3, For Repair of the King's Houses,	50,000	0	0
Sept. 5, To Major *Jeremy Totburst*,	100	0	0
Sept. 11, To Clerks, Serjeants at Arms, and Officers about the House of Commons	2966	11	4
Sept. 13, To the Queen of *Bohemia*,	10,000	0	0
To the Princess Royal,	10,000	0	0
To the Treasurer of the *Savoy* and *Ely* Hospitals,	10,000	0	0
Nov. 6, To the Princess *Henrietta*,	10,000	0	0
Nov. 12, To *Henry Peck*, Esq; due by former Order,	3443	12	5
To Sir *Thomas Dacres*, a Debt of	680	0	0
Nov. 23, To Col. *Buller*, for Money disbursed by him for *Scilly*,	3436	16	10
Further Demand of *Ditto*, for Disbursements,	3553	6	7
Dec. 5, Charging on Excise, two Warrants of Council of State,	1387	8	10
on *April* 11	1550	8	10
Dec. 12, To pay Bills of Sir *Rob. Honeywood*, and Embassadors in *Sweden*,	2200	0	0

Dec.

	l.	s.	d.
Dec. 12, To Printers after Re-admission of ſecluded Members,	528	13	7
Dec. 17, To *Savoy* and *Ely-Houſe* Hoſpitals,	5803	16	4
More,	2298	14	5
Ditto,	357	0	0
Dec. 18, To Mrs. *Dorothy Seymour*, due	3571	0	0
Dec. 19, To General *Maſſey* a Preſent,	3000	0	0
Ditto, to Capt. *Silas Titus*	3000	0	0
Ditto, to Mrs. *Jane Lane* for a Jewel,	1000	0	0
Dec. 20, For Redemption of Captives in *Turkey*, taken ſince 1642,	10,000	0	0
Dec. 27, To the Duke of *York*,	10,000	0	0
——— Queen of *Bohemia*,	10,000	0	0
To the Children of *Henry Elſing*, late Clerk of the Houſe of Commons,	5000	0	0
Dec. 29, Debt to *Col. Lockhart*,	7357	5	0
Ditto, to Sir *William Dick* and his Heirs,	3000	0	0
To *Chriſt*'s Hoſpital,	7427	0	0
Sept. 6, To the Surveyor of the King's Houſes, ſee Act 12 *C.* II. *c.* 23.	5000	0	0
Nov. 26, For Proviſions ſent to *Dunkirk*.	3450	0	0
	387,269	10	0

All which Sums were ordered to be paid forthwith, and about 200,000 *l.* thereof was taken up of the City of *London*, Alderman *Backwell*, &c. at Intereſt, which ought alſo to be added to this Charge.

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM